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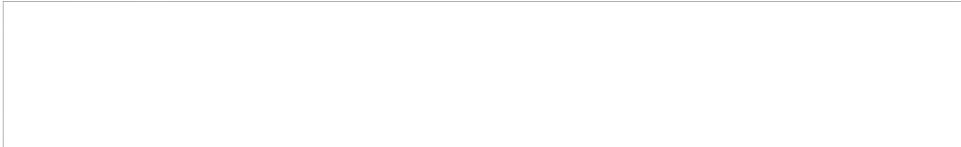
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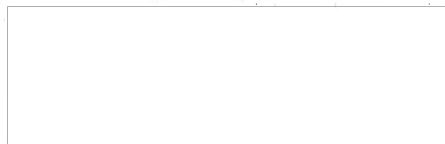
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I. STALIN

MARXISM
AND PROBLEMS
OF LINGUISTICS

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WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

J. STALIN

**MARXISM
AND PROBLEMS
OF LINGUISTICS**



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1955

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This translation of J. V. Stalin's *Marxism and Problems of Linguistics* has been made from the Russian edition published by Gospolitizdat, Moscow 1953.

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CONCERNING MARXISM IN LINGUISTICS

A group of younger comrades have asked me to give my opinion in the press on problems relating to linguistics, particularly in reference to Marxism in linguistics. I am not a linguistic expert and, of course, cannot fully satisfy the request of the comrades. As to Marxism in linguistics, as in other social sciences, this is something directly in my field. I have therefore consented to answer a number of questions put by the comrades.

QUESTION. *Is it true that language is a superstructure on the basis?*

ANSWER. No, it is not true.

The basis is the economic structure of society at the given stage of its development. The superstructure is the political, legal, religious, artistic, philosophical views of society and the political, legal and other institutions corresponding to them.

Every basis has its own corresponding superstructure. The basis of the feudal system has its superstructure, its political, legal and other views, and the corresponding institutions; the capitalist basis has its own superstructure, so has the socialist basis. If the basis changes or is eliminated, then, following this, its superstructure changes or is eliminated; if a new basis arises, then, following this, a superstructure arises corresponding to it.

In this respect language radically differs from the superstructure. Take, for example, Russian society and the Russian language. In the course of the past thirty years the old, capitalist basis has been eliminated in Russia and a new, socialist basis has been built. Correspondingly, the superstructure on the capitalist basis has been eliminated and a new superstructure created corresponding to the socialist basis. The old political, legal and other institutions, consequently, have been supplanted by new, socialist institutions. But in spite of this the Russian language has remained basically what it was before the October Revolution.

What has changed in the Russian language in this period? To a certain extent the vocabulary of the Russian language has changed, in the sense that it has been replenished with a considerable number of new words and expressions, which have arisen in connection with the rise of

the new socialist production, the appearance of a new state, a new socialist culture, new social relations and morals, and, lastly, in connection with the development of technology and science; a number of words and expressions have changed their meaning, have acquired a new signification; a number of obsolete words have dropped out of the vocabulary. As to the basic stock of words and the grammatical system of the Russian language, which constitute the foundation of a language, they, after the elimination of the capitalist basis, far from having been eliminated and supplanted by a new basic word stock and a new grammatical system of the language, have been preserved in their entirety and have not undergone any serious changes—they have been preserved precisely as the foundation of the modern Russian language.

Further, the superstructure is a product of the basis, but this by no means implies that it merely reflects the basis, that it is passive, neutral, indifferent to the fate of its basis, to the fate of the classes, to the character of the system. On the contrary, having come into being, it becomes an exceedingly active force, actively assisting its basis to take shape and consolidate itself, and doing its utmost to help the new system to finish off and eliminate the old basis and the old classes.

It cannot be otherwise. The superstructure is created by the basis precisely in order to serve it,

to actively help it to take shape and consolidate itself, to actively fight for the elimination of the old, moribund basis together with its old superstructure. The superstructure has only to renounce this role of auxiliary, it has only to pass from a position of active defence of its basis to one of indifference towards it, to adopt an equal attitude to all classes, and it loses its virtue and ceases to be a superstructure.

In this respect language radically differs from the superstructure. Language is not a product of one or another basis, old or new, within the given society, but of the whole course of the history of the society and of the history of the bases for many centuries. It was created not by some one class, but by the entire society, by all the classes of the society, by the efforts of hundreds of generations. It was created for the satisfaction of the needs not of one particular class, but of the entire society, of all the classes of the society. Precisely for this reason it was created as a single language for the society, common to all members of that society, as the common language of the whole people. Hence the functional role of language, as a means of intercourse between people, consists not in serving one class to the detriment of other classes, but in equally serving the entire society, all the classes of society. This in fact explains why a language may equally serve both the old, moribund system and the new,

rising system; both the old basis and the new basis; both the exploiters and the exploited.

It is no secret to anyone that the Russian language served Russian capitalism and Russian bourgeois culture before the October Revolution just as well as it now serves the socialist system and socialist culture of Russian society.

The same must be said of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Armenian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Tatar, Azerbaijanian, Bashkirian, Turkmenian and other languages of the Soviet nations; they served the old, bourgeois system of these nations just as well as they serve the new, socialist system.

It cannot be otherwise. Language exists, language has been created precisely in order to serve society as a whole, as a means of intercourse between people, in order to be common to the members of society and constitute the single language of society, serving members of society equally, irrespective of their class status. A language has only to depart from this position of being a language common to the whole people, it has only to give preference and support to some one social group to the detriment of other social groups of the society, and it loses its virtue, ceases to be a means of intercourse between the people of the society, and becomes the jargon of some social group, degenerates and is doomed to disappear.

In this respect, while it differs in principle from the superstructure, language does not differ from instruments of production, from machines, let us say, which are as indifferent to classes as is language and may, like it, equally serve a capitalist system and a socialist system.

Further, the superstructure is the product of one epoch, the epoch in which the given economic basis exists and operates. The superstructure is therefore short-lived; it is eliminated and disappears with the elimination and disappearance of the given basis.

Language, on the contrary, is the product of a whole number of epochs, in the course of which it takes shape, is enriched, develops and is smoothened. A language therefore lives immeasurably longer than any basis or any superstructure. This in fact explains why the rise and elimination not only of one basis and its superstructure, but of several bases and their corresponding superstructures, have not led in history to the elimination of a given language, to the elimination of its structure and the rise of a new language with a new stock of words and a new grammatical system.

It is more than a hundred years since Pushkin died. In this period the feudal system and the capitalist system were eliminated in Russia, and a third, a socialist system has arisen. Hence two bases, with their superstructures, were elimi-

nated, and a new, socialist basis has arisen, with its new superstructure. Yet, if we take the Russian language, for example, it has not in this long span of time undergone any fundamental change, and the modern Russian language differs very little in structure from the language of Pushkin.

What has changed in the Russian language in this period? The Russian vocabulary has in this period been greatly replenished; a large number of obsolete words have dropped out of the vocabulary; the meaning of a great many words has changed; the grammatical system of the language has improved. As to the structure of Pushkin's language, with its grammatical system and its basic stock of words, in all essentials it has remained as the basis of modern Russian.

And this is quite understandable. Indeed, what necessity is there, after every revolution, for the existing structure of the language, its grammatical system and basic stock of words to be destroyed and supplanted by new ones, as is usually the case with the superstructure? What object would there be in calling "water," "earth," "mountain," "forest," "fish," "man," "to walk," "to do," "to produce," "to trade," etc., not water, earth, mountain, etc., but something else? What object would there be in having the modification of words in a language and the combination of words in sentences follow not the existing

grammar, but some entirely different grammar? What would the revolution gain from such an upheaval in language? History in general never does anything of any importance without some special necessity for it. What, one asks, can be the necessity for such a linguistic revolution, if it has been demonstrated that the existing language and its structure are fundamentally quite suited to the needs of the new system? The old superstructure can and should be destroyed and replaced by a new one in the course of a few years, in order to give free scope for the development of the productive forces of society; but how can an existing language be destroyed and a new one built in its place in the course of a few years without causing anarchy in social life and without creating the threat of the disintegration of society? Who but a Don Quixote could set himself such a task?

Lastly, one other radical distinction between the superstructure and language. The superstructure is not directly connected with production, with man's productive activity. It is connected with production only indirectly, through the economy, through the basis. The superstructure therefore reflects changes in the level of development of the productive forces not immediately and not directly, but only after changes in the basis, through the prism of the changes wrought in the basis by the changes in production. This means

that the sphere of action of the superstructure is narrow and restricted.

Language, on the contrary, is connected with man's productive activity directly, and not only with man's productive activity, but with all his other activity in all his spheres of work, from production to the basis, and from the basis to the superstructure. For this reason language reflects changes in production immediately and directly, without waiting for changes in the basis. For this reason the sphere of action of language, which embraces all fields of man's activity, is far broader and more comprehensive than the sphere of action of the superstructure. More, it is practically unlimited.

It is this that primarily explains why language, or rather its vocabulary, is in a state of almost constant change. The continuous development of industry and agriculture, of trade and transport, of technology and science, demands that language should replenish its vocabulary with new words and expressions needed for their functioning. And language, directly reflecting these needs, does replenish its vocabulary with new words, and perfects its grammatical system.

Hence:

a) A Marxist cannot regard language as a superstructure on the basis;

b) To confuse language and superstructure is to commit a serious error.

QUESTION. *Is it true that language always was and is class language, that there is no such thing as language which is the single and common language of a society, a non-class language common to the whole people?*

ANSWER. No, it is not true.

It is not difficult to understand that in a society which has no classes there can be no such thing as a class language. There were no classes in the primitive communal clan system, and consequently there could be no class language—the language was then the single and common language of the whole community. The objection that the concept class should be taken as covering every human community, including the primitive communal community, is not an objection but a playing with words that is not worth refuting.

As to the subsequent development from clan languages to tribal languages, from tribal languages to the languages of nationalities, and from the languages of nationalities to national languages—everywhere and at all stages of development, language, as a means of intercourse between the people of a society, was the common and single language of that society, serving its members equally, irrespective of their social status.

I am not referring here to the empires of the slave and mediaeval periods, the empires of Cyrus

or Alexander the Great, let us say, or of Caesar or Charles the Great, which had no economic foundations of their own and were transient and unstable military and administrative associations. Not only did these empires not have, they could not have had a single language common to the whole empire and understood by all the members of the empire. They were conglomerations of tribes and nationalities, each of which lived its own life and had its own language. Consequently, it is not these or similar empires I have in mind, but the tribes and nationalities composing them, which had their own economic foundations and their own languages, evolved in the distant past. History tells us that the languages of these tribes and nationalities were not class languages, but languages common to the whole of a tribe or nationality, and understood by all its people.

Side by side with this, there were, of course, dialects, local vernaculars, but they were dominated by and subordinated to the single and common language of the tribe or nationality.

Later, with the appearance of capitalism, the elimination of feudal division and the formation of national markets, nationalities developed into nations, and the languages of nationalities into national languages. History shows that national languages are not class, but common languages, common to all the members of each nation

and constituting the single language of that nation.

It has been said above that language, as a means of intercourse between the people of a society, serves all classes of society equally, and in this respect displays what may be called an indifference to classes. But people, the various social groups, the classes, are far from being indifferent to language. They strive to utilize the language in their own interests, to impose their own special lingo, their own special terms, their own special expressions upon it. The upper strata of the propertied classes, who have divorced themselves from and detest the people—the aristocratic nobility, the upper strata of the bourgeoisie—particularly distinguish themselves in this respect. "Class" dialects, jargons, high-society "languages" are created. These dialects and jargons are often incorrectly referred to in literature as languages—the "aristocratic language" or the "bourgeois language" in contradistinction to the "proletarian language" or the "peasant language." For this reason, strange as it may seem, some of our comrades have come to the conclusion that national language is a fiction, and that only class languages exist in reality.

There is nothing, I think, more erroneous than this conclusion. Can these dialects and jargons be regarded as languages? Certainly not. They cannot, firstly, because these dialects and jargons

have no grammatical systems or basic word stocks of their own—they borrow them from the national language. They cannot, secondly, because these dialects and jargons are confined to a narrow sphere, are current only among the upper strata of a given class and are entirely unsuitable as a means of human intercourse for society as a whole. What, then, have they? They have a collection of specific words reflecting the specific tastes of the aristocracy or the upper strata of the bourgeoisie; a certain number of expressions and turns of phrase distinguished by refinement and gallantry and free of the "coarse" expressions and turns of phrase of the national language; lastly, a certain number of foreign words. But all the fundamentals, that is, the overwhelming majority of the words and the grammatical system, are borrowed from the common, national language. Dialects and jargons are therefore offshoots of the common national language, devoid of all linguistic independence and doomed to stagnation. To believe that dialects and jargons can develop into independent languages capable of ousting and supplanting the national language means losing one's sense of historical perspective and abandoning the Marxist position.

References are made to Marx, and the passage from his article "St. Max" is quoted which says that the bourgeois have "their own language," that this language "is a product of the bourgeoisie,"

that it is permeated with the spirit of mercantilism and huckstering. Certain comrades cite this passage with the idea of proving that Marx believed in the "class character" of language and denied the existence of a single national language. If these comrades were impartial, they should have cited another passage from this same article "St. Max," where Marx, touching on the ways single national languages arose, speaks of "the concentration of dialects into a single national language resulting from economic and political concentration."

Marx, consequently, did recognize the necessity of a *single* national language, as a higher form, to which dialects, as lower forms, are subordinate.

What, then, can this bourgeois language be which Marx says "is a product of the bourgeoisie"? Did Marx consider it as much a language as the national language, with a specific linguistic structure of its own? Could he have considered it such a language? Of course not. Marx merely wanted to say that the bourgeois had polluted the single national language with their hucksters' lingo, that the bourgeois, in other words, have their hucksters' jargon.

It thus appears that these comrades have misrepresented Marx. And they misrepresented him because they quoted Marx not like Marxists but

like dogmatists, without delving into the essence of the matter.

References are made to Engels, and the words from his *The Condition of the Working-Class in England* are cited where he says that in Britain "... the working-class has gradually become a race wholly apart from the English bourgeoisie," that "the workers speak other dialects, have other thoughts and ideals, other customs and moral principles, a different religion and other politics than those of the bourgeoisie." Certain comrades conclude from this passage that Engels denied the necessity of a common, national language, that he believed, consequently, in the "class character" of language. True, Engels speaks here of dialects, not languages, fully realizing that, being an offshoot of the national language, a dialect cannot supplant the national language. But apparently, these comrades regard the existence of a difference between a language and a dialect with no particular enthusiasm....

It is obvious that the quotation is inappropriate, because Engels here speaks not of "class languages" but chiefly of class thoughts, ideals, customs, moral principles, religion, politics. It is perfectly true that the thoughts, ideals, customs, moral principles, religion and politics of bourgeois and proletarians are directly antithetical. But what has this to do with national language, or the "class character" of language? Can the

existence of class antagonisms in society serve as an argument in favour of the "class character" of language, or against the necessity of a single national language? Marxism says that a common language is one of the cardinal ear-marks of a nation, although knowing very well that there are class antagonisms within the nation. Do the comrades referred to recognize this Marxist thesis?

References are made to Lafargue, and it is said that in his pamphlet *The French Language Before and After the Revolution* he recognizes the "class character" of language and denies the necessity of a national language common to the whole people. That is not true. Lafargue does indeed speak of a "noble" or "aristocratic language" and of the "jargons" of various strata of society. But these comrades forget that Lafargue, who was not interested in the difference between languages and jargons and referred to dialects now as "artificial languages," now as "jargons," definitely says in this pamphlet that "the artificial language which distinguished the aristocracy...arose out of the language common to the whole people, which was spoken both by bourgeois and artisan, by town and country."

Consequently, Lafargue recognizes the existence and necessity of a common language of the whole people, and fully realizes that the "aristocratic language" and other dialects and jargons

are subordinate to and dependent on the language common to the whole people.

It follows that the reference to Lafargue is wide of the mark.

References are made to the fact that at one time in England the feudal lords spoke "for centuries" in French, while the English people spoke English, and this is alleged to be an argument in favour of the "class character" of language and against the necessity of a language common to the whole people. But this is not an argument, it is rather an anecdote. Firstly, not all the feudal lords spoke French at that time, but only a small upper stratum of English feudal lords attached to the court and at county seats. Secondly, it was not some "class language" they spoke, but the ordinary language common to all the French people. Thirdly, we know that in the course of time this French language had disappeared without a trace, yielding place to the English language common to the whole people. Do these comrades think that the English feudal lords "for centuries" held intercourse with the English people through interpreters, that they did not use the English language, that there was no language common to all the English at that time, and that the French language in England was then anything more than the language of high society, current only in the restricted circle of the upper English aristocracy? How can one possibly deny

the existence and the necessity of a language common to the whole people on the basis of anecdotic "arguments" like these?

There was a time when Russian aristocrats at the tsar's court and in high society also made a lad of the French language. They prided themselves on the fact that when they spoke Russian they often lapsed into French, that they could only speak Russian with a French accent. Does this mean that there was no Russian language common to the whole people at that time in Russia, that a language common to the whole people was a fiction, and "class languages" a reality?

Our comrades are here committing at least two mistakes.

The first mistake is that they confuse language with superstructure. They think that since the superstructure has a class character, language too must be a class language, and not a language common to the whole people. But I have already said that language and superstructure are two different concepts, and that a Marxist must not confuse them.

The second mistake of these comrades is that they conceive the opposition of interests of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the fierce class struggle between them, as meaning the disintegration of society, as a break of all ties between the hostile classes. They believe that, since society has disintegrated and there is no longer a

single society, but only classes, a single language of society, a national language, is unnecessary. If society has disintegrated and there is no longer a language common to the whole people, a national language, what remains? There remain classes and "class languages." Naturally, every "class language" will have its "class" grammar—a "proletarian" grammar or a "bourgeois" grammar. True, such grammars do not exist anywhere. But that does not worry these comrades: they believe that such grammars will appear in due course.

At one time there were "Marxists" in our country who asserted that the railways left to us after the October Revolution were bourgeois railways, that it would be unseemly for us Marxists to use them, that they should be torn up and new, "proletarian" railways built. For this they were nicknamed "troglodytes"....

It goes without saying that such a primitive-anarchist view of society, of classes, of language has nothing in common with Marxism. But it undoubtedly exists and continues to prevail in the minds of certain of our muddled comrades.

It is of course wrong to say that, because of the existence of a fierce class struggle, society has split up into classes which are no longer economically connected with one another in one society. On the contrary, as long as capitalism exists, the bourgeois and the proletarians will be bound

together by every economic thread as parts of a single capitalist society. The bourgeois cannot live and enrich themselves unless they have wage-labourers at their command; the proletarians cannot survive unless they hire themselves to the capitalists. If all economic ties between them were to cease, it would mean the cessation of all production, and the cessation of all production would mean the doom of society, the doom of the classes themselves. Naturally, no class wants to incur self-destruction. Consequently, however sharp the class struggle may be, it cannot lead to the disintegration of society. Only ignorance of Marxism and complete failure to understand the nature of language could have suggested to some of our comrades the fairy-tale about the disintegration of society, about "class" languages, and "class" grammars.

Reference is further made to Lenin, and it is pointed out that Lenin recognized the existence of two cultures under capitalism—bourgeois and proletarian—and that the slogan of national culture under capitalism is a nationalist slogan. All this is true and Lenin is absolutely right here. But what has this to do with the "class character" of language? When these comrades refer to what Lenin said about two cultures under capitalism, it is evidently with the idea of suggesting to the reader that the existence of two cultures, bourgeois and proletarian, in society means that

there must also be two languages, inasmuch as language is linked with culture—and, consequently, that Lenin denies the necessity of a single national language, and, consequently, that Lenin believes in "class" languages. The mistake these comrades make here is that they identify and confuse language with culture. But culture and language are two different things. Culture may be bourgeois or socialist, but language, as a means of intercourse, is always a language common to the whole people and can serve both bourgeois and socialist culture. Is it not a fact that the Russian, the Ukrainian, the Uzbek languages are now serving the socialist culture of these nations just as well as they served their bourgeois cultures before the October Revolution? Consequently, these comrades are profoundly mistaken when they assert that the existence of two different cultures leads to the formation of two different languages and to the negation of the necessity of a single language.

When Lenin spoke of two cultures, he proceeded precisely from the thesis that the existence of two cultures cannot lead to the negation of a single language and to the formation of two languages, that there must be a single language. When the Bundists accused Lenin of denying the necessity of a national language and of regarding culture as "non-national," Lenin, as we know,

vigorously protested and declared that he was fighting against bourgeois culture, and not against national languages, the necessity of which he regarded as indisputable. It is strange that some of our comrades should be trailing in the footsteps of the Bundists.

As to a single language, the necessity of which Lenin is alleged to deny, it would be well to pay heed to the following words of Lenin:

"Language is the most important means of human intercourse. Unity of language and its unimpeded development form one of the most important conditions for genuinely free and extensive commercial intercourse appropriate to modern capitalism, for a free and broad grouping of the population in all its separate classes."

It follows that our highly respected comrades have misrepresented the views of Lenin.

Reference, lastly, is made to Stalin. The passage from Stalin is quoted which says that "the bourgeoisie and its nationalist parties were and remain in this period the chief directing force of such nations." This is all true. The bourgeoisie and its nationalist party really do direct bourgeois culture, just as the proletariat and its internationalist party direct proletarian culture. But what has this to do with the "class character" of language? Do not these comrades know that national language is a form of national culture, that a national language may serve both

bourgeois and socialist culture? Are our comrades unaware of the well-known formula of the Marxists that the present Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian and other cultures are socialist in content and national in form, i.e., in language? Do they agree with this Marxist formula?

The mistake our comrades commit here is that they do not see the difference between culture and language, and do not understand that culture changes in content with every new period in the development of society, whereas language remains basically the same through a number of periods, equally serving both the new culture and the old.

Hence:

a) Language, as a means of intercourse, always was and remains the single language of a society, common to all its members;

b) The existence of dialects and jargons does not negate but confirms the existence of a language common to the whole of the given people, of which they are offshoots and to which they are subordinate;

c) The "class character" of language formula is erroneous and non-Marxist.

QUESTION. *What are the characteristic features of language?*

ANSWER. Language is one of those social phenomena which operate throughout the existence

of a society. It arises and develops with the rise and development of a society. It dies when the society dies. Apart from society there is no language. Accordingly, language and its laws of development can be understood only if studied in inseparable connection with the history of society, with the history of the people to whom the language under study belongs, and who are its creators and repositories.

Language is a medium, an instrument with the help of which people communicate with one another, exchange thoughts and understand each other. Being directly connected with thinking, language registers and fixes in words, and in words combined into sentences, the results of the process of thinking and achievements of man's cognitive activity, and thus makes possible the exchange of thoughts in human society.

Exchange of thoughts is a constant and vital necessity, for without it, it is impossible to coordinate the joint actions of people in the struggle against the forces of nature, in the struggle to produce the necessary material values; without it, it is impossible to ensure the success of society's productive activity, and, hence, the very existence of social production becomes impossible. Consequently, without a language understood by a society and common to all its members, that society must cease to produce, must disintegrate and cease to exist as a society. In this sense, lan-

guage, while it is a medium of intercourse, is at the same time an instrument of struggle and development of society.

As we know, all the words in a language taken together constitute what is known as its vocabulary. The chief thing in the vocabulary of a language is its basic stock of words, which includes also all the root words, as its kernel. It is far less extensive than the language's vocabulary, but it persists for a very long time, for centuries, and provides the language with a basis for the formation of new words. The vocabulary reflects the state of the language: the richer and more diversified the vocabulary, the richer and more developed the language.

However, by itself, the vocabulary does not constitute the language—it is rather the building material of the language. Just as in construction work the building materials do not constitute the building, although the latter cannot be constructed without them, so too the vocabulary of a language does not constitute the language itself, although no language is conceivable without it. But the vocabulary of a language assumes tremendous importance when it comes under the control of grammar, which defines the rules governing the modification of words and the combination of words into sentences, and thus makes the language a coherent and significant function. Grammar (morphology, syntax) is the collection

of rules governing the modification of words and their combination into sentences. It is therefore thanks to grammar that it becomes possible for language to invest man's thoughts in a material linguistic integument.

The distinguishing feature of grammar is that it gives rules for the modification of words not in reference to concrete words, but to words in general, not taken concretely; that it gives rules for the formation of sentences not in reference to particular concrete sentences—with, let us say, a concrete subject, a concrete predicate, etc.—but to all sentences in general, irrespective of the concrete form of any sentence in particular. Hence, abstracting itself, as regards both words and sentences, from the particular and concrete, grammar takes that which is common and basic in the modification of words and their combination into sentences and builds it into grammatical rules, grammatical laws. Grammar is the outcome of a process of abstraction performed by the human mind over a long period of time; it is an indication of the tremendous achievement of thought.

In this respect grammar resembles geometry, which in giving its laws abstracts itself from concrete objects, regarding objects as bodies devoid of concreteness, and defining the relations between them not as the concrete relations of concrete objects but as the relations of bodies in general, devoid of all concreteness.

Unlike the superstructure, which is connected with production not directly, but through the economy, language is directly connected with man's productive activity, as well as with all his other activity in all his spheres of work without exception. That is why the vocabulary of a language, being the most sensitive to change, is in a state of almost constant change, and, unlike the superstructure, language does not have to wait until the basis is eliminated, but makes changes in its vocabulary before the basis is eliminated and irrespective of the state of the basis.

However, the vocabulary of a language does not change in the way the superstructure does, that is, by abolishing the old and building something new, but by replenishing the existing vocabulary with new words which arise with changes in the social system, with the development of production, of culture, science, etc. Moreover, although a certain number of obsolete words usually drop out of the vocabulary of a language, a far larger number of new words are added. As to the basic word stock, it is preserved in all its fundamentals and is used as the basis for the vocabulary of the language.

This is quite understandable. There is no necessity to destroy the basic word stock when it can be effectively used through the course of several historical periods; not to speak of the fact

that, it being impossible to create a new basic word stock in a short time, the destruction of the basic word stock accumulated in the course of centuries would result in paralysis of the language, in the complete disruption of intercourse between people.

The grammatical system of a language changes even more slowly than its basic word stock. Elaborated in the course of epochs, and having become part of the flesh and blood of the language, the grammatical system changes still more slowly than the basic word stock. With the lapse of time it, of course, undergoes changes, becomes more perfected, improves its rules, makes them more specific and acquires new rules; but the fundamentals of the grammatical system are preserved for a very long time, since, as history shows, they are able to serve society effectively through a succession of epochs.

Hence, grammatical system and basic word stock constitute the foundation of language, the essence of its specific character.

History shows that languages possess great stability and a tremendous power of resistance to forcible assimilation. Some historians, instead of explaining this phenomenon, confine themselves to expressing their surprise at it. But there is no reason for surprise whatsoever. Languages owe their stability to the stability of their grammatical systems and basic word stocks. The

Turkish assimilators strove for hundreds of years to mutilate, shatter and destroy the languages of the Balkan peoples. During this period the vocabulary of the Balkan languages underwent considerable change; quite a few Turkish words and expressions were absorbed; there were "convergencies" and "divergencies." Nevertheless, the Balkan languages held their own and survived. Why? Because their grammatical systems and basic word stocks were in the main preserved.

It follows from all this that a language, its structure, cannot be regarded as the product of some one epoch. The structure of a language, its grammatical system and basic word stock, is the product of a number of epochs.

We may assume that the rudiments of modern language already existed in hoary antiquity, before the epoch of slavery. It was a rather simple language, with a very meagre stock of words, but with a grammatical system of its own—true, a primitive one, but a grammatical system nonetheless.

The further development of production, the appearance, of classes, the introduction of writing, the rise of the state, which needed a more or less well-regulated correspondence for its administration, the development of trade, which needed a well-regulated correspondence still more, the appearance of the printing press, the development of literature—all this caused big changes

in the development of language. During this time, tribes and nationalities broke up and scattered, intermingled and intercrossed; later there arose national languages and states, revolutions took place, and old social systems were replaced by new ones. All this caused even greater changes in language and its development.

However, it would be a profound mistake to think that language developed in the way the superstructure developed—by the destruction of that which existed and the building of something new. In point of fact, languages did not develop by the destruction of existing languages and the creation of new ones, but by extending and perfecting the basic elements of existing languages. And the transition of the language from one quality to another did not take the form of an explosion, of the destruction at one blow of the old and the creation of the new, but of the gradual and long-continued accumulation of the elements of the new quality, of the new linguistic structure, and the gradual dying away of the elements of the old quality.

It is said that the theory that languages develop by stages is a Marxist theory, since it recognizes the necessity of sudden explosions as a condition for the transition of a language from an old quality to a new. This is of course untrue, for it is difficult to find anything resembling Marxism in this theory. And if the theory of

stages really does recognize sudden explosions in the history of the development of languages, so much the worse for that theory. Marxism does not recognize sudden explosions in the development of languages, the sudden death of an existing language and the sudden erection of a new language. Lafargue was wrong when he spoke of a "sudden linguistic revolution which took place between 1789 and 1794" in France (see Lafargue's pamphlet *The French Language Before and After the Revolution*). There was no linguistic revolution, let alone a sudden one, in France at that time. True enough, during that period the vocabulary of the French language was replenished with new words and expressions, a certain number of obsolete words dropped out of it, and the meaning of certain words changed—but that was all. Changes of this nature, however, by no means determine the destiny of a language. The chief thing in a language is its grammatical system and basic word stock. But far from disappearing in the period of the French bourgeois revolution, the grammatical system and basic word stock of the French language were preserved without substantial change, and not only were they preserved, but they continue to exist in the French language of to-day. I need hardly say that five or six years is a ridiculously small period for the elimination of an existing language and the building of a new national

language ("a sudden linguistic revolution")—centuries are needed for this.

Marxism holds that the transition of a language from an old quality to a new does not take place by way of an explosion, of the destruction of an existing language and the creation of a new one, but by the gradual accumulation of the elements of the new quality, and hence by the gradual dying away of the elements of the old quality.

It should be said in general for the benefit of comrades who have an infatuation for explosions that the law of transition from an old quality to a new by means of an explosion is inapplicable not only to the history of the development of languages; it is not always applicable to other social phenomena of a basis or superstructural character. It applies of necessity to a society divided into hostile classes. But it does not necessarily apply to a society which has no hostile classes. In a period of eight to ten years we effected a transition in the agriculture of our country from the bourgeois, individual-peasant system to the socialist, collective-farm system. This was a revolution which eliminated the old bourgeois economic system in the countryside and created a new, socialist system. But that revolution did not take place by means of an explosion, that is, by the overthrow of the existing government power and the creation of a new power, but by a gradual

transition from the old bourgeois system in the countryside to a new system. And it was possible to do that because it was a revolution from above, because the revolution was accomplished on the initiative of the existing power with the support of the bulk of the peasantry.

It is said that the numerous instances of linguistic crossing in past history furnish reason to believe that when languages cross a new language is formed by means of an explosion, by a sudden transition from an old quality to a new. This is quite wrong.

Linguistic crossing cannot be regarded as the single impact of a decisive blow which produces its results within a few years. Linguistic crossing is a prolonged process which continues for hundreds of years. There can therefore be no question of explosion here.

Further, it would be quite wrong to think that the crossing of, say, two languages results in a new, third language which does not resemble either of the languages crossed and differs qualitatively from both of them. As a matter of fact one of the languages usually emerges victorious from the cross, retains its grammatical system and its basic word stock and continues to develop in accordance with its inherent laws of development, while the other language gradually loses its quality and gradually dies away.

Consequently, a cross does not result in some new, third language; one of the languages persists, retains its grammatical system and basic word stock and is able to develop in accordance with its inherent laws of development.

True, in the process the vocabulary of the victorious language is somewhat enriched from the vanquished language, but this strengthens rather than weakens it.

Such was the case, for instance, with the Russian language, with which, in the course of historical development, the languages of a number of other peoples crossed and which always emerged the victor.

Of course, in the process the vocabulary of the Russian language was enlarged at the expense of the vocabularies of the other languages, but far from weakening, this enriched and strengthened the Russian language.

As to the specific national individuality of the Russian language, it did not suffer in the slightest, because the Russian language preserved its grammatical system and basic word stock and continued to advance and perfect itself in accordance with its inherent laws of development.

There can be no doubt that the crossing theory has little or no value for Soviet linguistics. If it is true that the chief task of linguistics is to study the inherent laws of language development, it has to be admitted that the crossing theory does not

even set itself this task, let alone accomplish it—it simply does not notice it, or does not understand it.

QUESTION. Did "Pravda" act rightly in starting an open discussion on problems of linguistics?

ANSWER. Yes, it did.

Along what lines the problems of linguistics will be settled, will become clear at the conclusion of the discussion. But it may be said already that the discussion has been very useful.

It has brought out, in the first place, that in linguistic bodies both in the centre and in the republics a regime has prevailed, which is alien to science and men of science. The slightest criticism of the state of affairs in Soviet linguistics, even the most timid attempt to criticize the so-called "new doctrine" in linguistics, was persecuted and suppressed by the leading linguistic circles. Valuable workers and researchers in linguistics were dismissed from their posts or demoted for being critical of N. Y. Marr's heritage or expressing the slightest disapproval of his teachings. Linguistic scholars were appointed to leading posts not on their merits, but because of their unqualified acceptance of N. Y. Marr's theories.

It is generally recognized that no science can develop and flourish without a battle of opinions, without freedom of criticism. But this generally recognized rule was ignored and flouted in the

most unceremonious fashion. There arose a close group of infallible leaders, who, having secured themselves against any possible criticism, became a law unto themselves and did whatever they pleased.

To give one example: the so-called "Baku Course" (lectures delivered by N. Y. Marr in Baku), which the author himself had rejected and forbidden to be republished, was republished nevertheless by order of this leading caste (Comrade Meshchaninov calls them "disciples" of N. Y. Marr) and included without any reservations in the list of text-books recommended to students. This means that the students were deceived, a rejected "Course" being suggested to them as a sound text-book. If I were not convinced of the integrity of Comrade Meshchaninov and the other linguistic leaders, I would say that such conduct is tantamount to sabotage.

How could this have happened? It happened because the Arakcheyev regime established in linguistics cultivates irresponsibility and encourages such arbitrary actions.

The discussion has proved to be very useful first of all because it brought this Arakcheyev regime into the light of day and smashed it to smithereens.

But the usefulness of the discussion does not end there. It not only smashed the old regime in linguistics but also brought out the incredible

confusion of ideas on cardinal questions of linguistics which prevails among the leading circles in this branch of science. Until the discussion began the "disciples" of N. Y. Marr kept silence and glossed over the unsatisfactory state of affairs in linguistics. But when the discussion started silence became impossible, and they were compelled to express their opinion in the press. And what did we find? It turned out that in N. Y. Marr's teachings there are a whole number of defects, errors, ill-defined problems and sketchy propositions. Why, one asks, have N. Y. Marr's "disciples" begun to talk about this only now, after the discussion opened? Why did they not see to it before? Why did they not speak about it in due time openly and honestly, as befits scientists?

Having admitted "some" errors of N. Y. Marr, his "disciples," it appears, think that Soviet linguistics can only be advanced on the basis of a "rectified" version of N. Y. Marr's theory, which they consider a Marxist one. No, save us from N. Y. Marr's "Marxism"! N. Y. Marr did indeed want to be, and endeavoured to be, a Marxist, but he failed to become one. He was nothing but a simplifier and vulgarizer of Marxism, similar to the "proletcultists" or the "Rappists."

N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics the incorrect, non-Marxist formula that language is a superstructure, and got himself into a muddle and put linguistics into a muddle. Soviet linguis-

tics cannot be advanced on the basis of an incorrect formula.

N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics another and also incorrect and non-Marxist formula, regarding the "class character" of language, and got himself into a muddle and put linguistics into a muddle. Soviet linguistics cannot be advanced on the basis of an incorrect formula which is contrary to the whole course of the history of peoples and languages.

N. Y. Marr introduced into linguistics an immodest, boastful, arrogant tone alien to Marxism and tending towards a bald and off-hand negation of everything done in linguistics prior to N. Y. Marr.

N. Y. Marr shrilly abused the comparative-historical method as "idealistic." Yet it must be said that, despite its serious shortcomings, the comparative-historical method is nevertheless better than N. Y. Marr's really idealistic four-element analysis, because the former gives a stimulus to work, to a study of languages, while the latter only gives a stimulus to loll in one's arm-chair and tell fortunes in the tea-cup of the celebrated four elements.

N. Y. Marr haughtily discountenanced every attempt to study groups (families) of languages on the grounds that it was a manifestation of the "linguistic prototype" theory. Yet it cannot be denied that the linguistic affinity of nations like

the Slav nations, say, is beyond question, and that a study of the linguistic affinity of these nations might be of great value to linguistics in the study of the laws of language development. The "linguistic prototype" theory, I need hardly say, has nothing to do with it.

To listen to N. Y. Marr, and especially to his "disciples," one might think that prior to N. Y. Marr there was no such thing as the science of language, that the science of language appeared with the "new doctrine" of N. Y. Marr. Marx and Engels were much more modest: they held that their dialectical materialism was a product of the development of the sciences, including philosophy, in earlier periods.

Thus, the discussion was useful also because it brought to light ideological shortcomings in Soviet linguistics.

I think that the sooner our linguistics rids itself of N. Y. Marr's errors, the sooner will it be possible to extricate it from its present crisis.

Elimination of the Arakcheyev regime in linguistics, rejection of N. Y. Marr's errors, and the introduction of Marxism into linguistics—that, in my opinion, is the way in which Soviet linguistics could be put on a sound basis.

Pravda, June 20, 1950

CONCERNING CERTAIN PROBLEMS OF LINGUISTICS

Reply to Comrade E. Krashennikova

Comrade Krashennikova,

I am answering your questions.

1. QUESTION. Your article convincingly shows that language is neither the basis nor the superstructure. Would it be right to regard language as a phenomenon characteristic of both the basis and the superstructure, or would it be more correct to regard language as an intermediate phenomenon?

ANSWER. Of course, characteristic of language, as a social phenomenon, is that common feature which is inherent in all social phenomena, including the basis and the superstructure, namely: it serves society just as society is served by all other social phenomena, including the basis and the superstructure. But this, properly speaking, exhausts that common feature which is inherent in all social phenomena. Beyond this, im-

portant distinctions begin between social phenomena.

The point is that social phenomena have, in addition to this common feature, their own specific features which distinguish them from each other and which are of primary importance for science. The specific features of the basis consist in that it serves society economically. The specific features of the superstructure consist in that it serves society by means of political, legal, aesthetic and other ideas and provides society with corresponding political, legal and other institutions. What then are the specific features of language, distinguishing it from other social phenomena? They consist in that language serves society as a means of intercourse between people, as a means for exchanging thoughts in society, as a means enabling people to understand one another and to co-ordinate joint work in all spheres of human activity, both in the sphere of production and in the sphere of economic relations, both in the sphere of politics and in the sphere of culture, both in social life and in everyday life. These specific features are characteristic only of language, and precisely because they are characteristic only of language, language is the object of study by an independent science—linguistics. If there were no such specific features of language, linguistics would lose its right to independent existence.

In brief: language cannot be included either in the category of bases or in the category of superstructures.

Nor can it be included in the category of "intermediate" phenomena between the basis and the superstructure, for such "intermediate" phenomena do not exist.

But perhaps language could be included in the category of the productive forces of society, in the category, say, of instruments of production? Indeed, there does exist a certain analogy between language and instruments of production: instruments of production manifest, just as language does, a kind of indifference towards classes and can serve equally different classes of society, both old and new. Does this circumstance provide ground for including language in the category of instruments of production? No, it does not.

At one time, N. Y. Marr, seeing that his formula—"language is a superstructure on the basis"—encountered objections, decided to "re-shape" it and announced that "language is an instrument of production." Was N. Y. Marr right in including language in the category of instruments of production? No, he certainly was not.

The point is that the similarity between language and instruments of production ends with the analogy I have just mentioned. But, on the other hand, there is a radical difference between language and instruments of production. This dif-

ference lies in the fact that whereas instruments of production produce material wealth, language produces nothing or "produces" words only. To put it more plainly, people possessing instruments of production can produce material wealth, but those very same people, if they possess a language but not instruments of production, cannot produce material wealth. It is not difficult to see that were language capable of producing material wealth, wind-bags would be the richest men on earth.

2. QUESTION. Marx and Engels define language as "the immediate reality of thought," as "practical, ... actual consciousness." "Ideas," Marx says, "do not exist divorced from language." In what measure, in your opinion, should linguistics occupy itself with the semantic aspect of language, semantics, historical semasiology, and stylistics, or should form alone be the subject of linguistics?

ANSWER. Semantics (semasiology) is one of the important branches of linguistics. The semantic aspect of words and expressions is of serious importance in the study of language. Hence, semantics (semasiology) must be assured its due place in linguistics.

However, in working on problems of semantics and in utilizing its data, its significance must in no way be over-estimated, and still less must

it be abused. I have in mind certain philologists who, having an excessive passion for semantics, disregard language as "the immediate reality of thought" inseparably connected with thinking, divorce thinking from language and maintain that language is outliving its age and that it is possible to do without language.

Listen to what N. Y. Marr says:

"Language exists only inasmuch as it is expressed in sounds; the action of thinking occurs also without being expressed.... Language (spoken) has already begun to surrender its functions to the latest inventions which are unrestrainedly conquering space, while thinking is on the up-grade, departing from its unutilized accumulations in the past and its new acquisitions, and is to oust and fully replace language. The language of the future is thinking which will be developing in technique free of natural matter. No language, even the spoken language, which is all the same connected with the standards of nature, will be able to withstand it" (see *Selected Works* by N. Y. Marr).

If we interpret this "labour-magic" gibberish into simple human language, the conclusion may be drawn that:

a) N. Y. Marr divorces thinking from language;

b) N. Y. Marr considers that communication between people can be realized without language,

with the help of thinking itself, which is free of the "natural matter" of language, free of the "standards of nature";

c) divorcing thinking from language and "having freed" it from the "natural matter" of language, N. Y. Marr lands into the swamp of idealism.

It is said that thoughts arise in the mind of man prior to their being expressed in speech, that they arise without linguistic material, without linguistic integument, in, so to say, a naked form. But that is absolutely wrong. Whatever thoughts arise in the human mind and at whatever moment, they can arise and exist only on the basis of the linguistic material, on the basis of language terms and phrases. Bare thoughts, free of the linguistic material, free of the "natural matter" of language, do not exist. "Language is the immediate reality of thought" (*Marx*). The reality of thought is manifested in language. Only idealists can speak of thinking not being connected with "the natural matter" of language, of thinking without language.

In brief: over-estimation of semantics and abuse of it led N. Y. Marr to idealism.

Consequently, if semantics (semasiology) is safeguarded against exaggerations and abuses of the kind committed by N. Y. Marr and some of his "disciples," semantics can be of great benefit to linguistics.

3. QUESTION. You quite justly say that the ideas, concepts, customs and moral principles of the bourgeoisie and those of the proletariat are directly antithetical. The class character of these phenomena is certainly reflected in the semantic aspect of language (and sometimes in its form—in the vocabulary—as is correctly pointed out in your article). In analyzing concrete linguistic material and, in the first place, the semantic aspect of language, can we speak of the class essence of the concepts expressed by language, particularly in those cases when language expresses not only the thought of man but also his attitude towards reality, where his class affinity manifests itself with especial clarity?

ANSWER. Putting it more briefly, you want to know whether classes influence language, whether they introduce into language their specific words and expressions, whether there are cases when people attach a different meaning to one and the same word or expression depending on their class affinity?

Yes, classes influence language, introduce into the language their own specific words and expressions and sometimes understand one and the same word or expression differently. There is no doubt about that.

However, it does not follow that specific words and expressions, as well as difference in seman-

tics, can be of serious importance for the development of a single language common to the whole people, that they are capable of detracting from its significance or of changing its character.

Firstly, such specific words and expressions, as well as cases of difference in semantics, are so few in language that they hardly make up even one per cent of the entire linguistic material. Consequently, all the remaining overwhelming mass of words and expressions, as well as their semantics, are *common* to all classes of society.

Secondly, specific words and expressions with a class tinge are used in speech not according to rules of some sort of "class" grammar, which does not exist, but according to the grammatical rules of the existing language common to the whole people.

Hence, the existence of specific words and expressions and the facts of differences in the semantics of language do not refute, but, on the contrary, confirm the existence and necessity of a single language common to the whole people.

4. QUESTION. In your article you quite correctly appraise Marr as a vulgarizer of Marxism. Does this mean that the linguists, including us, the young linguists, should reject the *whole* linguistic heritage of Marr, who all the same has to his credit a number of valuable linguistic researches (Comnades Chikobava, Sanzheyev and

others wrote about them during the discussion)? Approaching Marr critically, cannot we take from him what is useful and valuable?

ANSWER. Of course, the works of N. Y. Marr do not consist solely of errors. N. Y. Marr made very gross mistakes when he introduced into linguistics elements of Marxism in a distorted form, when he tried to create an independent theory of language. But N. Y. Marr has certain good and ably written works, in which he, forgetting his theoretical claims, conscientiously and, one must say, skillfully investigates individual languages. In these works one can find not a little that is valuable and instructive. Clearly, these valuable and instructive things should be taken from N. Y. Marr and utilized.

5. QUESTION. Many linguists consider *formalism* one of the main causes of the stagnation in Soviet linguistics. We should very much like to know your opinion as to what formalism in linguistics consists in and how it should be overcome?

ANSWER. N. Y. Marr and his "disciples" accuse of "formalism" all linguists who do not accept the "new doctrine" of N. Y. Marr. This of course is not serious or clever.

N. Y. Marr considered that grammar is an empty "formality," and that people who regard

the grammatical system as the foundation of language are formalists. This is altogether foolish.

I think that "formalism" was invented by the authors of the "new doctrine" to facilitate their struggle against their opponents in linguistics.

The cause of the stagnation in Soviet linguistics is not the "formalism" invented by N. Y. Marr and his "disciples," but the Arakcheyev regime and the theoretical gaps in linguistics. The Arakcheyev regime was set up by the "disciples" of N. Y. Marr. Theoretical confusion was brought into linguistics by N. Y. Marr and his closest colleagues. To put an end to stagnation, both the one and the other must be eliminated. The removal of these plague spots will put Soviet linguistics on a sound basis, will lead it out on to the broad highway and enable Soviet linguistics to occupy first place in world linguistics.

June 29, 1950

Pravda, July 4, 1950

REPLY TO COMRADES

To Comrade Sanzheyev

Dear Comrade *Sanzheyev*,

I am replying to your letter with considerable delay, for it was only yesterday forwarded to me from the apparatus of the Central Committee.

Your interpretation of my standpoint on the question of dialects is absolutely correct.

"Class" dialects, which it would be more correct to call jargons, do not serve the mass of the people, but a narrow social upper crust. Moreover, they do not have a grammatical system or basic word stock of their own. In view of this, they cannot possibly develop into independent languages.

Local ("territorial") dialects, on the other hand, serve the mass of the people and have a grammatical system and basic word stock of their own. In view of this, some local dialects, in the process of formation of nations, may become the basis of national languages and develop into independent national languages. This was the case,

for instance, with the Kursk-Orel dialect (the Kursk-Orel "speech") of the Russian language, which formed the basis of the Russian national language. The same must be said of the Poltava-Kiev dialect of the Ukrainian language, which formed the basis of the Ukrainian national language. As for the other dialects of such languages, they lose their originality, merge with those languages and disappear in them.

Reverse processes also occur, when the single language of a nationality, which has not yet become a nation owing to the absence of the necessary economic conditions of development, collapses as a result of the disintegration of the state of that nationality, and the local dialects, which have not yet had time to be fully uniformized in the single language, revive and give rise to the formation of separate independent languages. Possibly, this was the case, for example, with the single Mongolian language.

July 11, 1950

Pravda, August 2, 1950

To Comrades D. Belkin and S. Furer

I have received your letters.

Your mistake is that you have confused two different things and substituted another subject for that examined in my reply to Comrade Kra-shennnikova.

1. In that reply I criticized N. Y. Marr who, dealing with language (spoken) and thought, divorces language from thought and thus lapses into idealism. Therefore, I referred in my reply to normal human beings possessing the faculty of speech. I maintained, moreover, that with such human beings thoughts can arise only on the basis of linguistic material, that bare thoughts unconnected with linguistic material do not exist among people, who possess the faculty of speech.

Instead of accepting or rejecting this thesis, you introduce anomalous human beings, people without language, deaf-mutes, who have no language at their disposal and whose thoughts, of course, cannot arise on the basis of linguistic

material. As you see, this is an entirely different subject which I did not touch upon and could not have touched upon, since linguistics concerns itself with normal human beings possessing the faculty of speech and not with anomalous deaf-mutes who do not possess the faculty of speech.

You have substituted for the subject under discussion another subject that was not discussed.

2. From Comrade Belkin's letter it is evident that he places on a par the "language of words" (spoken language) and "gesture language" ("hand" language, according to N. Y. Marr). He seems to think that gesture language and the language of words are of equal significance, that at one time human society had no language of words, that "hand" language at that time played the part of the language of words which appeared later.

But if Comrade Belkin really thinks so, he is committing a serious error. Spoken language or the language of words has always been the sole language of human society capable of serving as an adequate means of intercourse between people. History does not know of a single human society, be it the most backward, that did not have its own spoken language. Ethnography does not know of a single backward tribe, be it as primitive or even more primitive than, say, the Australians or the Tierra del Fuegians of the last

century, which did not have its own spoken language. In the history of mankind, spoken language has been one of the forces which helped human beings to emerge from the animal world, unite into communities, develop their faculty of thinking, organize social production, wage a successful struggle against the forces of nature and attain the stage of progress we have to-day.

In this respect, the significance of the so-called gesture language, in view of its extreme poverty and limitations, is negligible. Properly speaking, this is not a language, and not even a linguistic substitute that could in one way or another replace spoken language, but an auxiliary means of extremely limited possibilities to which man sometimes resorts to emphasize this or that point in his speech. Gesture language and spoken language are just as incomparable as are the primitive wooden hoe and the modern caterpillar tractor with its five-furrow plough or tractor row drill.

3. Apparently, you are primarily interested in the deaf-mutes, and only secondarily in problems of linguistics. Evidently, it was precisely this circumstance that prompted you to put a number of questions to me. Well, if you insist, I am not averse to granting your request. How do matters stand with regard to deaf-mutes? Do they possess the faculty of thinking? Do thoughts arise with them? Yes, they possess the faculty of

thinking and thoughts arise with them. Clearly, since deaf-mutes are deprived of the faculty of speech, their thoughts cannot arise on the basis of linguistic material. Can this be taken to mean that the thoughts of deaf-mutes are naked, are not connected with the "standards of nature" (N. Y. Marr's expression)? No, it cannot. The thoughts of deaf-mutes arise and can exist only on the basis of the images, sensations and conceptions they form in every-day life on the objects of the outside world and their relations among themselves, thanks to the senses of sight, of touch, taste, and smell. Apart from these images, sensations and conceptions, thought is empty, is deprived of all content, that is, it does not exist.

July 22, 1950

Pravda, August 2, 1950

To Comrade A. Kozlov

I have received your letter

Pressure of work has somewhat delayed my reply.

Your letter tacitly proceeds from two premises: from the premise that it is permissible to quote the work of this or that author apart from the historical period of which the quotation treats, and secondly, from the premise that this or that conclusion or formula of Marxism, derived as a result of studying one of the periods of historical development, holds good for all periods of development and therefore must remain invariable.

I must say that both these premises are deeply mistaken.

A few examples.

1. In the forties of the past century when there was no monopoly capitalism as yet, when capitalism was developing more or less smoothly along an ascending line, spreading to new terri-

ories it had not yet occupied, and the law of uneven development could not yet fully operate, Marx and Engels concluded that a socialist revolution could not be victorious in one particular country, that it could be victorious only as a result of a joint blow in all, or in most, civilized countries. This conclusion subsequently became a guiding principle for all Marxists.

However, at the beginning of the twentieth century, especially in the period of the first world war, when it became clear to everyone that pre-monopoly capitalism had definitely developed into monopoly capitalism, when rising capitalism had become dying capitalism, when the war had revealed the incurable weaknesses of the world imperialist front, and the law of uneven development predetermined that the proletarian revolution would mature in different countries at different times, Lenin, proceeding from Marxist theory, came to the conclusion that in the new conditions of development, the socialist revolution could fully prove victorious in one country taken separately, that the simultaneous victory of the socialist revolution in all countries, or in a majority of civilized countries, was impossible owing to the uneven maturing of the revolution in those countries, that the old formula of Marx and Engels no longer corresponded to the new historical conditions.

To Comrade A. Kholopov

I have received your letter.

Pressure of work has somewhat delayed my reply.

Your letter tacitly proceeds from two premises: from the premise that it is permissible to quote the work of this or that author *apart* from the historical period of which the quotation treats, and secondly, from the premise that this or that conclusion or formula of Marxism, derived as a result of studying one of the periods of historical development, holds good for all periods of development and therefore must remain *invariable*.

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It is evident that here we have two different conclusions on the question of the victory of socialism, which not only contradict, but exclude each other.

Some dogmatists and talmudists who quote mechanically without delving into the essence of the matter, and apart from historical conditions, may say that one of these conclusions should be discarded as being absolutely incorrect, while the other conclusion, as the absolutely correct one, should be applied to all periods of development. Marxists, however, cannot but know that the dogmatists and talmudists are mistaken; they cannot but know that both of these conclusions are correct, though not absolutely, each being correct for its own time: Marx's and Engels's conclusion—for the period of pre-monopoly capitalism; and Lenin's conclusion—for the period of monopoly capitalism.

2. Engels in his *Anti-Dühring* said that after the victory of the socialist revolution, the state is bound to wither away. On these grounds, after the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, dogmatists and talmudists in our Party began demanding that the Party should take steps to ensure the speedy withering away of our state, to disband state organs, to give up a standing army.

However, the study of the world situation of our time led Soviet Marxists to the conclusion

that in the conditions of capitalist encirclement, when the socialist revolution has been victorious only in one country, and capitalism reigns in all other countries, the land of the victorious revolution should not weaken, but in every way strengthen its state, state organs, intelligence organs and army, if that land does not want to be crushed by the capitalist encirclement. Russian Marxists came to the conclusion that Engels's formula has in view the victory of socialism in all, or in most, countries, that it cannot be applied in the case where socialism is victorious in one country taken separately and capitalism reigns in all the other countries.

Evidently, we have here two different formulas regarding the destiny of the socialist state, each formula excluding the other.

The dogmatists and talmudists may say that this circumstance creates an intolerable situation, that one of these formulas must be discarded as being absolutely erroneous, and the other—as the absolutely correct one—must be applied to all periods of development of the socialist state. Marxists, however, cannot but know that the dogmatists and talmudists are mistaken, for both these formulas are correct, though not absolutely, each being correct for its time: the formula of Soviet Marxists—for the period of the victory of socialism in one or several countries; and the formula of Engels—for the period when

the consecutive victory of socialism in separate countries will lead to the victory of socialism in the majority of countries and when the necessary conditions will thus have been created for the application of Engels's formula.

The number of such examples could be multiplied.

The same must be said of the two different formulas on the question of language, taken from various works of Stalin and cited by Comrade Kholopov in his letter.

Comrade Kholopov refers to Stalin's work "Concerning Marxism in Linguistics," where the conclusion is drawn that, as a result of the crossing, say, of two languages, one of them usually emerges victorious, while the other dies away, that, consequently, crossing does not produce some new, third language, but preserves one of the languages. He refers further to another conclusion, taken from Stalin's report to the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), where it is said that in the period of the victory of socialism on a world scale, when socialism is consolidated and becomes part of every-day life, national languages will inevitably merge into one common language which, of course, will be neither Great Russian nor German, but something new. Comparing these two formulas and seeing that, far from coinciding, they exclude each other, Comrade Kholopov falls into despair. "From your

article," he writes in his letter, "I understood that the crossing of languages can *never* produce some new language, whereas prior to your article I was firmly convinced, in conformity with your speech at the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), that under *communism*, languages would merge into one common language."

Evidently, having discovered a contradiction between these two formulas and being deeply convinced that the contradiction must be removed, Comrade Kholopov considers it necessary to get rid of one of these formulas as incorrect and to clutch at the other as being correct for all periods and countries; but which formula to clutch at—he does not know. The result is something in the nature of a hopeless situation. Comrade Kholopov does not even suspect that both formulas can be correct—each for its own time.

That is always the case with dogmatists and balmudists who do not delve into the essence of the matter, quote mechanically and irrespective of the historical conditions of which the quotations treat, and invariably find themselves in a hopeless situation.

Yet if one examines the essence of the matter, there are no grounds for considering the situation hopeless. The fact is that Stalin's pamphlet "Concerning Marxism in Linguistics," and Stalin's speech at the Sixteenth Party Congress,

refer to two entirely different epochs, owing to which the formulas, too, prove to be different.

The formula given by Stalin in his pamphlet, in the part where it speaks of the crossing of languages, refers to the epoch *prior to the victory of socialism* on a world scale, when the exploiting classes are the dominant power in the world; when national and colonial oppression remains in force; when national isolation and mutual distrust among nations are consolidated by differences between states; when, as yet, there is no national equality of rights; when the crossing of languages takes place as a struggle for the domination of one of the languages; when the conditions necessary for the peaceful and friendly co-operation of nations and languages are as yet lacking; when it is not the co-operation and mutual enrichment of languages that are on the order of the day, but the assimilation of some and the victory of other languages. It is clear that in such conditions there can be only victorious and defeated languages. It is precisely these conditions that Stalin's formula has in view when it says that the crossing, say, of two languages, results not in the formation of a new language, but in the victory of one of the languages and the defeat of the other.

As regards the other formula by Stalin, taken from his speech at the Sixteenth Party Congress,

in the part that touches on the merging of languages into one common language, it has in view another epoch, namely, the epoch *after the victory of socialism* on a world scale, when world imperialism no longer exists; when the exploiting classes are overthrown and national and colonial oppression is eradicated; when national isolation and mutual distrust among nations is replaced by mutual confidence and rapprochement between nations; when national equality has been put into practice; when the policy of suppressing and assimilating languages is abolished; when the co-operation of nations has been established, and it is possible for national languages freely to enrich one another through their co-operation. It is clear that in these conditions there can be no question of the suppression and defeat of some languages, and the victory of others. Here we shall have not two languages, one of which is to suffer defeat, while the other is to emerge from the struggle victorious, but hundreds of national languages, out of which, as a result of a prolonged economic, political and cultural co-operation of nations, there will first appear most enriched unified zonal languages, and subsequently the zonal languages will merge into a single international language, which, of course, will be neither German, nor Russian, nor English, but a new language that

has absorbed the best elements of the national and zonal languages.

Consequently, the two different formulas correspond to two different epochs in the development of society, and precisely because they correspond to them, both formulas are correct—each for its epoch.

To demand that these formulas should not be at variance with each other, that they should not exclude each other, is just as absurd as it would be to demand that the epoch of the domination of capitalism should not be at variance with the epoch of the domination of socialism, that socialism and capitalism should not exclude each other.

The dogmatists and talmudists regard Marxism and separate conclusions and formulas of Marxism as a collection of dogmas, which “never” change, notwithstanding changes in the conditions of the development of society. They believe that if they learn these conclusions and formulas by heart and start citing them at random, they will be able to solve any problem, reckoning that the memorized conclusions and formulas will serve them for all times and countries, for all occasions in life. But this can be the conviction only of people who see the letter of Marxism, but not its essence, who learn by rote the texts of conclusions and formulas of Marxism, but do not understand their meaning.

Marxism is the science of the laws governing the development of nature and society, the science of the revolution of the oppressed and exploited masses, the science of the victory of socialism in all countries, the science of building communist society. As a science, Marxism cannot stand still, it develops and is perfected. In its development, Marxism cannot but be enriched by new experience, new knowledge—consequently some of its formulas and conclusions cannot but change in the course of time, cannot but be replaced by new formulas and conclusions, corresponding to the new historical tasks. Marxism does not recognize invariable conclusions and formulas, obligatory for all epochs and periods. Marxism is the enemy of all dogmatism.

July 28, 1950

Pravda, August 2, 1950

V I L E N I N

THE TASKS
OF THE
YOUTH
LEAGUES



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Printed in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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V. I. Lenin

WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

V. I. LENIN
THE TASKS
of the
YOUTH LEAGUES

*Speech Delivered
at the Third All-Russian Congress
of the Russian Young Communist League,
October 2, 1920¹*



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

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(The Congress greets Lenin with a stormy ovation.)

Comrades, I would like to discuss today the fundamental tasks of the Young Communist League and, in this connection, what the youth organizations in a socialist republic should be like in general.

It is all the more necessary to deal with this question because in a certain sense it may be said that it is precisely the youth that will be faced with the real task of creating a communist society. For it is clear that the generation of workers that was brought up in capitalist society can, at best, accomplish the task of destroying the foundations of the old, capitalist social life, which was built on exploitation. At best, it can accomplish the task of creating a social system that would help the proletariat and the toiling classes to retain power and to lay a

firm foundation, on which only the generation that is starting to work under the new conditions, in a situation in which exploiting relations between men no longer exist, can build.

And so, in approaching the tasks of the youth from this angle, I must say that the tasks of the youth in general, and of the Young Communist Leagues and all other organizations in particular, may be summed up in one word: learn.

Of course, this is only "one word." It does not answer the principal and most essential questions: what to learn, and how to learn? And the whole point here is that with the transformation of the old capitalist society, the teaching, training and education of the new generations that will create the communist society cannot be conducted on the old lines. The teaching, training and education of the youth must proceed from the material that has been left to us by the old society. We can build communism only from the sum of knowledge, organizations and institutions, only with the stock of human forces and means that have been left

to us by the old society. Only by radically remoulding the teaching, organization and training of the youth shall we be able to ensure that the efforts of the younger generation will result in the creation of a society that will be unlike the old society, i.e., in the creation of a communist society. That is why we must deal in detail with the question of what we should teach the youth and how the youth should learn if it really wants to justify the name of communist youth, and how it should be trained so as to be able to complete and consummate what we have started.

I must say that the first and most natural reply would seem to be that the Youth League, and the youth in general that wants to pass to communism, should learn communism.

But this reply—"learn communism"—is too general. What do we need in order to learn communism? What must be singled out from the sum of general knowledge to acquire a knowledge of communism? Here a number of dangers arise, which often manifest themselves whenever the task of

learning communism is presented incorrectly, or when it is interpreted too one-sidedly.

Naturally, the first thought that enters one's mind is that learning communism means imbibing the sum of knowledge that is contained in communist textbooks, pamphlets and books. But such a definition of the study of communism would be too crude and inadequate. If the study of communism consisted solely in imbibing what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, we might all too easily obtain communist text-jugglers or braggarts, and this would very often cause us harm and damage, because such people, having learned by rote what is contained in communist books and pamphlets, would prove incapable of combining this knowledge, and would be unable to act in the way communism really demands.

One of the greatest evils and misfortunes left to us by the old capitalist society is the complete divorcement of books from practical life; for we have had books in which everything was described in the best pos-

sible manner, yet these books in the majority of cases were most disgusting and hypocritical lies that described capitalist society falsely.

That is why it would be extremely wrong merely to absorb what is written in books about communism. In our speeches and articles we do not now merely repeat what was formerly said about communism, because our speeches and articles are connected with our daily work in every branch. Without work, without struggle, an abstract knowledge of communism obtained from communist pamphlets and books would be absolutely worthless, for it would continue the old divorcement of theory from practice, that old divorcement which constituted the most disgusting feature of the old bourgeois society.

It would be still more dangerous to start to imbibe only communist slogans. Had we not realized this danger in time, and had we not directed all our efforts to avert this danger, the half million or million young men and women who would have called themselves Communists after studying com-

munism in this way would only occasion great damage to the cause of communism.

Here the question arises: how should we combine all this for the study of communism? What must we take from the old school, from the old science? The old school declared that its aim was to produce men with an all-round education, to teach the sciences in general. We know that this was utterly false, for the whole of society was based and maintained on the division of men into classes, into exploiters and oppressed. Naturally, the whole of the old school, being thoroughly imbued with the class spirit, imparted knowledge only to the children of the bourgeoisie. Every word was falsified in the interests of the bourgeoisie. In these schools the younger generation of workers and peasants were not so much educated as drilled in the interests of this bourgeoisie. They were trained in such a way as to be useful servants of the bourgeoisie, able to create profits for it without disturbing its peace and leisure. That is why, while rejecting the old school, we have made

it our task to take from it only what we require for real communist education.

This brings me to the reproaches and accusations which we constantly hear levelled at the old school, and which often lead to totally wrong conclusions. It is said that the old school was a school of cramming, grinding, learning by rote. That is true, but we must distinguish between what was bad in the old school and what is useful for us, and we must be able to choose from it what is necessary for communism.

The old school was a school of cramming; it compelled pupils to imbibe a mass of useless, superfluous, barren knowledge, which clogged the brain and transformed the younger generation into bureaucrats regimented according to one single pattern. But you would be committing a great mistake if you attempted to draw the conclusion that one can become a Communist without acquiring what human knowledge has accumulated. It would be a mistake to think that it is enough to learn communist slogans, the conclusions of communist science, without acquiring the sum of knowledge of

which communism itself is a consequence. Marxism is an example of how communism arose out of the sum of human knowledge.

You have read and heard that communist theory, the science of communism, mainly created by Marx, that this teaching of Marxism has ceased to be the product of a single Socialist of the nineteenth century, even though he was a genius, and that it has become the teaching of millions and tens of millions of proletarians all over the world, who are applying this teaching in their struggle against capitalism. And if you were to ask why the teachings of Marx were able to capture the hearts of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class, you would receive only one answer: it was because Marx took his stand on the firm foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism. Having studied the laws of development of human society, Marx realized the inevitability of the development of capitalism leading towards communism. And the principal thing is that he proved this precisely on the basis of the most exact, most detailed and most profound

study of this capitalist society, by fully assimilating all that earlier science had produced. He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, not ignoring a single point. Everything that had been created by human thought he reshaped, criticized, tested on the working-class movement, and drew conclusions which people restricted by bourgeois limits or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw.

We must bear this in mind when, for example, we talk about proletarian culture. Unless we clearly understand that only by an exact knowledge of the culture created by the whole development of mankind and that only by reshaping this culture can we build proletarian culture—unless we understand that we shall not be able to solve this problem. Proletarian culture is not something that has sprung nobody knows whence, it is not an invention of people who call themselves experts in proletarian culture. That is all nonsense. Proletarian culture must be the result of a natural development of the stores of knowledge which mankind

has accumulated under the yoke of capitalist society, landlord society, bureaucratic society. All these roads and paths have led, are leading, and continue to lead to proletarian culture, in the same way as political economy, reshaped by Marx, showed us what human society must come to, showed us the transition to the class struggle, to the beginning of the proletarian revolution.

When we so often hear representatives of the youth and certain advocates of a new system of education attacking the old school and saying that it was a school of cramming, we say to them that we must take what was good from the old school. We must not take from the old school the system of loading young people's minds with an immense amount of knowledge, nine-tenths of which was useless and one-tenth distorted. But this does not mean that we can confine ourselves to communist conclusions and learn only communist slogans. You will not create communism that way. You can become a Communist only when you enrich your mind with the knowledge of all the treasures created by mankind.

We do not need cramming; but we do need to develop and perfect the mind of every student by a knowledge of the fundamental facts. For communism would become a void, a mere signboard, and a Communist would become a mere braggart, if all the knowledge he has obtained were not digested in his mind. You must not only assimilate this knowledge, you must assimilate it critically, so as not to cram your mind with useless lumber, but enrich it with all those facts that are indispensable to the modern man of education. If a Communist took it into his head to boast about communism on the basis of the ready-made conclusions he had acquired, without putting in a great deal of serious and hard work, without understanding the facts which he must examine critically, he would be a very deplorable Communist. Such superficiality would be decidedly fatal. If I know that I know little, I shall strive to learn more; but if a man says that he is a Communist and that he need know nothing thoroughly, he will never be anything like a Communist.

The old school turned out servants need-

ed by the capitalists; the old school transformed men of science into men who had to write and say what pleased the capitalists. Therefore we must abolish it. But does the fact that we must abolish it, destroy it, mean that we must not take from it all that mankind has accumulated that is essential for man? Does it mean that we do not have to distinguish between what was necessary for capitalism and what is necessary for communism?

We are replacing the old drill-sergeant methods that were employed in bourgeois society in opposition to the will of the majority by the class-conscious discipline of the workers and peasants, who combine hatred of the old society with the determination, ability and readiness to unite and organize their forces for this fight, in order to transform the wills of millions and hundreds of millions of people, disunited, dispersed and scattered over the territory of a huge country, into a single will; for without this single will defeat is inevitable. Without this solidarity, without this conscious discipline of the workers and peasants, our cause will be hope-

less. Without this we shall not be able to beat the capitalists and landlords of the whole world. We shall not even consolidate the foundation, let alone build a new, communist society on that foundation. Similarly, while rejecting the old school, while cherishing an absolutely legitimate and essential hatred for the old school, while prizing the readiness to destroy the old school, we must realize that in place of the old system of tuition, the old cramming, the old drill, we must put the ability to acquire the sum of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism shall not be something learned by rote, but something that you yourselves have thought over, that it shall embody the conclusions which are inevitable from the standpoint of modern education.

That is the way we must present the main tasks when speaking of the task of learning communism.

In order to explain this to you, and as an approach to the question of how to learn, I shall take a practical example. You all know that following immediately on the military tasks, the tasks of defending the republic,

we are now being confronted with economic tasks. We know that communist society cannot be built unless we regenerate industry and agriculture, and they must not be regenerated in the old way. They must be regenerated on a modern basis, in accordance with the last word in science. You know that this basis is electricity, and that only when the whole country, all branches of industry and agriculture have been electrified, only when you have mastered this task will you be able to build for yourselves the communist society which the older generation cannot build up. Confronting you is the task of economically reviving the whole country, of reorganizing and restoring both agriculture and industry on a modern technical basis which rests on modern science and technology, on electricity. You realize perfectly well that illiterate people cannot tackle electrification, and that mere literacy is not enough either. It is not enough to understand what electricity is; it is necessary to know how to apply it technically to industry and to agriculture, and to the various branches of industry and agriculture. We must learn this

ourselves, and must teach it to the whole of the growing generation of toilers. This is the task that confronts every class-conscious Communist, every young person who regards himself a Communist and who clearly understands that by joining the Young Communist League he has pledged himself to help the Party build communism and to help the whole younger generation create a communist society. He must realize that he can create it only on the basis of modern education; and if he does not acquire this education communism will remain only an aspiration.

The task of the old generation was to overthrow the bourgeoisie. The main task then was to criticize the bourgeoisie, to arouse hatred of the bourgeoisie among the masses, to develop class consciousness and the ability to unite their forces. The new generation is confronted with a much more complicated task. Not only have you to combine all your forces to uphold the power of the workers and peasants against the attacks of the capitalists. That you must do. That you have clearly understood; that the Com-

munist distinctly perceives. But it is not enough. You must build a communist society. In many respects the first half of the work has been done. The old order has been destroyed, as it deserved to be, it has been transformed into a heap of ruins, as it deserved to be. The ground has been cleared, and on this ground the young communist generation must build a communist society. You are faced with the task of construction, and you can cope with it only by mastering all modern knowledge, only if you are able to transform communism from ready-made, memorized formulas, counsels, recipes, prescriptions and programmes into that living thing which unites your immediate work, and only if you are able to transform communism into a guide for your practical work.

This is the task by which you should be guided in educating, training and rousing the whole of the younger generation. You must be the foremost among the millions of builders of communist society, which every young man and young woman should be. Unless you enlist the whole mass of young

workers and peasants in the work of building communism, you will not build a communist society.

This naturally brings me to the question how we should teach communism and what the specific features of our methods should be.

Here, first of all, I will deal with the question of communist ethics.

You must train yourselves to be Communists. The task of the Youth League is to organize its practical activities in such a way that, by learning, organizing, uniting and fighting, its members should train themselves and all who look to it as a leader; they should train Communists. The whole object of training, educating and teaching the youth of today should be to imbue them with communist ethics.

But is there such a thing as communist ethics? Is there such a thing as communist morality? Of course, there is. It is often made to appear that we have no ethics of our own; and very often the bourgeoisie accuse us Communists of repudiating all ethics. This is a method of shuffling concepts, of

throwing dust in the eyes of the workers and peasants.

In what sense do we repudiate ethics and morality?

In the sense in which it is preached by the bourgeoisie, who derived ethics from God's commandments. We, of course, say that we do not believe in God, and that we know perfectly well that the clergy, the landlords and the bourgeoisie spoke in the name of God in pursuit of their own interests as exploiters. Or instead of deriving ethics from the commandments of morality, from the commandments of God, they derived it from idealist or semi-idealist phrases, which always amounted to something very similar to God's commandments.

We repudiate all morality taken apart from human society and classes. We say that it is a deception, a fraud, a befogging of the minds of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landlords and capitalists.

We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat. Our morality is de-

rived from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.

The old society was based on the oppression of all the workers and peasants by the landlords and capitalists. We had to destroy this, we had to overthrow them; but for this we had to create unity. God would not create such unity.

This unity could be provided only by factories and workshops, only by the proletariat, trained and roused from its long slumber. Only when that class was formed did the mass movement begin which led to what we see now—the victory of the proletarian revolution in one of the weakest of countries, which for three years has been repelling the onslaught of the bourgeoisie of the whole world. And we see how the proletarian revolution is growing all over the world. We now say, on the basis of experience, that only the proletariat could have created that compact force which the disunited and scattered peasantry are following and which has withstood all the onslaughts of the exploiters. Only this class can help the toiling masses to unite, rally their ranks and finally

defend, finally consolidate and finally build up communist society.

That is why we say that for us there is no such thing as morality apart from human society; it is a fraud. Morality for us is subordinated to the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat.

What does this class struggle mean? It means overthrowing the tsar, overthrowing the capitalists, abolishing the capitalist class.

And what are classes in general? Classes are what permits one section of society to appropriate the labour of the other section. If one section of society appropriates all the land, we have a landlord class and a peasant class. If one section of society possesses the mills and factories, shares and capital, while another section works in these factories, we have a capitalist class and a proletarian class.

It was not difficult to drive out the tsar—that required only a few days. It was not very difficult to drive out the landlords—that was done in a few months. Nor was it very difficult to drive out the capitalists. But it is

incomparably more difficult to abolish classes; we still have the division into workers and peasants. If the peasant is settled on his separate plot of land and appropriates superfluous grain, that is, grain that he does not need for himself or for his cattle, while the rest of the people have to go without bread, then the peasant becomes an exploiter. The more grain he keeps for himself, the more profitable he finds it; as for the rest, let them starve: "The more they starve the dearer I can sell this grain." Everybody must work according to a common plan, on common land, in common mills and factories and under common management. Is it easy to attain this? You see that it is not so easy as driving out the tsar, the landlords and the capitalists. What is required is that the proletariat re-educate, re-train a section of the peasantry; it must win over those who are toiling peasants in order to crush the resistance of those peasants who are rich and are profiting by the poverty and want of the rest. Hence the task of the proletarian struggle is not completed by the fact that we have overthrown the tsar and have driven out the

landlords and capitalists, and to complete it is the task of the system we call the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The class struggle is still continuing; it has merely changed its forms. It is the class struggle of the proletariat to prevent the return of the old exploiters, to unite the scattered masses of unenlightened peasants into one union. The class struggle is continuing and it is our task to subordinate all interests to this struggle. And we subordinate our communist morality to this task. We say: morality is what serves to destroy the old exploiting society and to unite all the toilers around the proletariat, which is building up a new, communist society.

Communist morality is the morality which serves this struggle, which unites the toilers against all exploitation, against all small property; for small property puts into the hands of one person what has been created by the labour of the whole of society. In our country the land is common property.

But suppose I take a piece of this common property and grow on it twice as much grain as I need and profiteer in the surplus?

Suppose I argue that the more starving people there are the more they will pay? Would I then be behaving like a Communist? No, I would be behaving like an exploiter, like a proprietor. This must be combated. If this is allowed to go on things will slide back to the rule of the capitalists, to the rule of the bourgeoisie, as has more than once happened in previous revolutions. And in order to prevent the restoration of the rule of the capitalists and the bourgeoisie we must not allow profiteering, we must not allow individuals to enrich themselves at the expense of the rest, and the toilers must unite with the proletariat and form a communist society. This is the principal feature of the fundamental task of the League and of the organization of the communist youth.

The old society was based on the principle: rob or be robbed, work for others or make others work for you, be a slaveowner or a slave. Naturally, people brought up in such a society imbibe with their mother's milk, so to speak, the psychology, the habit, the concept: you are either a slaveowner or

a slave or else, a small owner, a small employee, a small official, an intellectual—in short, a man who thinks only of himself, and doesn't give a hang for anybody else.

If I work this plot of land, I don't give a hang for anybody else; if others starve, all the better, the more I will get for my grain. If I have a job as a doctor, engineer, teacher, or clerk, I don't give a hang for anybody else. Perhaps if I toady to and please the powers that be I shall keep my job, and even get on in life and become a bourgeois. A Communist cannot have such a psychology and such sentiments. When the workers and peasants proved that they are able by their own efforts to defend themselves and create a new society—that was the beginning of the new communist training, training in the struggle against the exploiters, training in alliance with the proletariat against the self-seekers and small owners, against the psychology and habits which say: I seek my own profit and I don't give a hang for anything else.

This is the reply to the question how the

young and rising generation should learn communism.

It can learn communism only by linking up every step in its studies, training and education with the continuous struggle the proletarians and the toilers are waging against the old exploiting society. When people talk to us about morality, we say: for the Communist, morality lies entirely in this solid, united discipline and conscious mass struggle against the exploiters. We do not believe in an eternal morality, and we expose the deceit of all the fables about morality. Morality serves the purpose of helping human society to rise to a higher level and to get rid of the exploitation of labour.

To achieve this we need the younger generation which began to awaken to conscious life in the midst of the disciplined and desperate struggle against the bourgeoisie. In this struggle it is training genuine Communists, it must subordinate to this struggle and link with it every step in its studies, education and training. The training of the communist youth must consist not in giving

them sentimental speeches and moral precepts. This is not what training consists in. When people saw how their fathers and mothers lived under the yoke of the landlords and capitalists, when they themselves experienced the sufferings that befell those who started the struggle against the exploiters, when they saw what sacrifices the continuation of this struggle entailed in order to defend what had been won, and when they saw what frenzied foes the landlords and capitalists are—they were trained in this environment to become Communists. The basis of communist morality is the struggle for the consolidation and completion of communism. That too is the basis of communist training, education, and teaching. That is the reply to the question how communism should be learnt.

We would not believe in teaching, training and education if they were confined only to the school and were divorced from the storm of life. As long as the workers and peasants continue to be oppressed by the landlords and capitalists, and as long as the schools remain in the hands of the landlords

and capitalists, the young generation will remain blind and ignorant. But our school must impart to the youth the fundamentals of knowledge, the ability to work out communist views independently; it must make educated people of them. In the time during which people attend school, it must train them to be participants in the struggle for emancipation from the exploiters. The Young Communist League will justify its name as the League of the young communist generation only when it links up every step of its teaching, training and education with participation in the general struggle of all the toilers against the exploiters. For you know perfectly well that as long as Russia remains the only workers' republic, while the old bourgeois system exists in the rest of the world, we shall be weaker than they, we shall be under the constant menace of a new attack; and that only if we learn to be solid and united shall we win in the further struggle and—having gained strength—become really invincible. Thus, to be a Communist means that you must organize and unite the whole rising generation and

set an example of training and discipline in this struggle. Then you will be able to start building the edifice of communist society and bring it to completion.

In order to make this clearer to you I will quote an example. We call ourselves Communists. What is a Communist? Communist is a Latin word. Communis is the Latin for "common." Communist society is a society in which all things—the land, the factories—are owned in common and the people work in common. That is communism.

Is it possible to work in common if each one works separately on his own plot of land? Work in common cannot be brought about all at once. That is impossible. It does not drop from the skies. It comes by toil and suffering, it is created in the course of struggle. Old books are of no use here; no one will believe them. One's own living experience is required. When Kolchak and Denikin advanced from Siberia and the South the peasants were on their side. They did not like Bolshevism because the Bolsheviks took their grain at a fixed price. But when the

peasants in Siberia and the Ukraine experienced the rule of Kolchak and Denikin, they realized that they had only one alternative: either to go to the capitalist, and he would at once hand them over into slavery to the landlord; or to follow the worker, who, it is true, did not promise a land flowing with milk and honey, who demanded iron discipline and firmness in an arduous struggle, but who would lead them out of enslavement to the capitalists and landlords. When even the ignorant peasants realized and saw this from their own experience they became conscious adherents of communism, who had passed through a stern school. It is such experience that must form the basis of all the activities of the Young Communist League.

I have replied to the questions what we must learn, what we must take from the old school and from the old science. I will now try to answer the question how this must be learnt. The answer is: only by inseparably linking every step in the activities of the school, every step in training, education and

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teaching, with the struggle of all the toilers against the exploiters.

I will quote a few examples from the experience of the work of some of the youth organizations to illustrate how this training in communism should proceed. Everybody is talking about abolishing illiteracy. You know that a communist society cannot be built in an illiterate country. It is not enough for the Soviet government to issue an order, or for the Party to issue a particular slogan, or to assign a certain number of the best workers to this task. The younger generation itself must take up this work. Communism means that the youth, the young men and women who belong to the Youth League, would say: this is our job; we shall unite and go into the rural districts to abolish illiteracy, so that there shall be no illiterates among our rising generation. We are trying to get the rising generation to devote its activities to this work. You know that we cannot quickly transform ignorant, illiterate Russia into a literate country. But if the Youth League sets to work on this job, if all the young

people work for the benefit of all, the League, which unites 400,000 young men and women, will be entitled to call itself a Young Communist League. Another task of the League is, after having acquired any particular knowledge, to help those young people who cannot liberate themselves from the darkness of illiteracy by their own efforts. Being a member of the Youth League means devoting one's labour and efforts to the common cause. That is what communist training means. Only in the course of such work does a young man or woman become a real Communist. Only if they achieve practical results in this work will they become Communists.

Take, for example, work on the suburban vegetable gardens. Isn't this a task? This is one of the tasks of the Young Communist League. The people are starving; there is starvation in the mills and factories. In order to save ourselves from starvation, vegetable gardens must be developed. But agriculture is being carried on in the old way. Therefore, more class-conscious elements must undertake this work, and you would then

find that the number of vegetable gardens would increase, their area grow, and the results improve. The Young Communist League must take an active part in this work. Every League and every branch of the League should regard this as its job.

The Young Communist League must be a shock group, helping in every job and displaying initiative and enterprise. The League should be such that any worker may see that it consists of people whose teachings he may not understand, whose teachings he perhaps may not immediately believe, but from whose practical work and activity he could see that they are really the people who are showing him the right road.

If the Young Communist League fails to organize its work in this way in all fields, it will mean that it is slipping into the old, bourgeois path. We must combine our training with the struggle of the toilers against the exploiters in order to help the former to perform the tasks that follow from the teachings of communism.

The members of the League should use every spare hour to improve the vegetable

gardens, or to organize the education of young people in some mill or factory, and so forth. We want to transform Russia from a poverty-stricken and wretched country into a wealthy country. And the Young Communist League must combine its education, teaching and training with the labour of the workers and peasants, so as not to shut itself up in its schools and not to confine itself to reading communist books and pamphlets. Only by working side by side with the workers and peasants can one become a genuine Communist. And everyone must be made to see that all those who belong to the Youth League are literate and at the same time know how to work. When everyone sees that we have driven the old drill methods from the old school and have replaced them by conscious discipline, that all young men and women are taking part in subbotniks, that they are utilizing every suburban farm to help the population—the people will cease to look upon labour as they looked upon it before.

It is the task of the Young Communist League to organize assistance in the village

or in the city block in such a matter as—I take a small example—cleanliness or the distribution of food. How was this done in the old capitalist society? Everybody worked for himself alone, and nobody cared whether there were aged or sick, or whether all the housework fell on the shoulders of the women, who, as a result, were in a state of oppression and slavery. Whose business is it to combat this? It is the business of the Youth Leagues, which must say: we shall change all this; we shall organize detachments of young people who will help to maintain cleanliness or to distribute food, who will make systematic house-to-house inspections, who will work in an organized way for the benefit of the whole of society, properly distributing their forces and demonstrating that labour must be organized labour.

The generation which is now about fifty years old cannot expect to see the communist society. This generation will die out before then. But the generation which is now fifteen years old will see the communist society, and will itself build this society. And

it must know that the whole purpose of its life is to build this society. In the old society work was carried on by separate families, and nobody united their labour except the landlords and capitalists, who oppressed the masses of the people. We must organize all labour, no matter how dirty and arduous it may be, in such a way that every worker and peasant may say: I am part of the great army of free labour, and I can build my life without the landlords and capitalists, I can establish the communist system. The Young Communist League must train everybody to conscious and disciplined labour from an early age. In this way we shall be sure that the problems that are now confronting us will be solved. We must assume that no less than ten years will be required for the electrification of the country, so that our impoverished land may be served by the latest achievements of technology. And so, the generation which is now fifteen years old, and which in ten or twenty years' time will be living in communist society, must approach all its tasks in education in such a way that every day, in every village and

every town, the young people shall engage in the practical solution of some problem of common labour, even though the smallest, even though the simplest. To the extent that this is done in every village, to the extent that communist emulation develops, to the extent that the youth prove that they can unite their labour, to that extent will the success of communist construction be ensured. Only by regarding our every step from the standpoint of the success of this construction, only by asking ourselves whether we have done all we can to be united, conscious toilers, will the Young Communist League succeed in uniting its half a million members into a single army of labour and win universal respect. (*Stormy applause.*)

Pravda, Nos. 221, 222 and 223,
October 5, 6 and 7, 1920

NOTE

¹ The Third All-Russian Congress of the Russian Young Communist League met in Moscow on October 2-10, 1920, and was attended by some 600 delegates. Lenin made his speech at the opening session, on the evening of October 2.

Title Page

K. MARX *and* F. ENGELS

MANIFESTO
OF THE
COMMUNIST
PARTY

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LENIN

"BY THEIR MANIFESTO, MARX AND ENGELS CREATED AN ERA."

STALIN

WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

KARL MARX
FREDERICK ENGELS

MANIFESTO
OF THE
COMMUNIST
PARTY



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
Moscow 1955

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

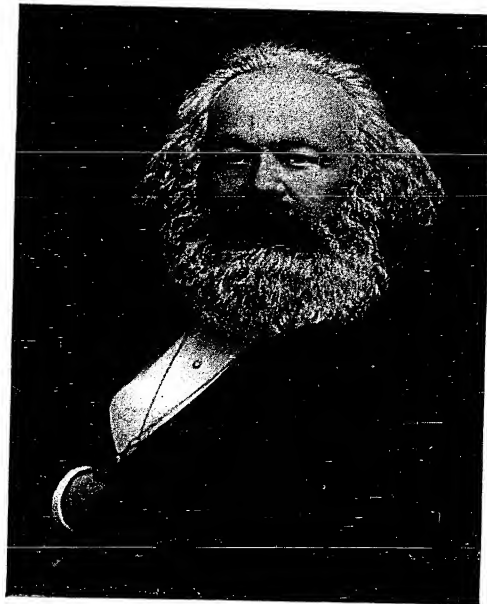
The present English edition of the MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY is a reproduction of the translation made by Samuel Moore in 1888 from the original German text of 1848 and edited by Frederick Engels.

Included in the present text are Engels's annotations for the English 1888 edition and the German 1890 edition as well as all the author's prefaces to the various editions.

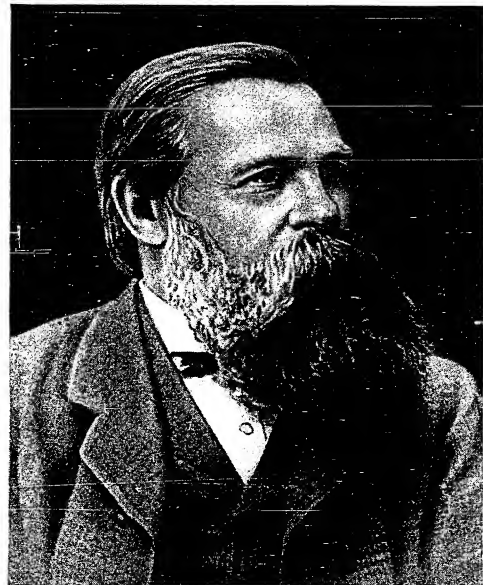
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Karl Marx



F. Engels

PREFACE TO THE GERMAN
EDITION OF 1872

The Communist League, an international association of workers, which could of course be only a secret one under the conditions obtaining at the time, commissioned the undersigned, at the Congress held in London in November 1847, to draw up for publication a detailed theoretical and practical programme of the Party. Such was the origin of the following Manifesto, the manuscript of which travelled to London, to be printed, a few weeks before the February Revolution.¹ First published in German, it has been republished in that language in at least twelve different editions in Germany, England and America. It was published in English for the first time in 1850 in the *Red Republican*, London, translated by Miss Helen Macfarlane, and in 1871 in at least three different translations in America. A French version

¹ The February Revolution in France, 1848.—*Ed.*

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first appeared in Paris shortly before the June insurrection of 1848 and recently in *Le Socialiste* of New York. A new translation is in the course of preparation. A Polish version appeared in London shortly after it was first published in German. A Russian translation was published in Geneva in the sixties. Into Danish, too, it was translated shortly after its first appearance.

However much the state of things may have altered during the last twenty-five years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto are, on the whole, as correct today as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded today. In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry in the last twenty-five years, and of the accompanying improved and extended party organisation of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the

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February Revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, *viz.*, that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." (See *The Civil War in France; Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association*, London, Truelove, 1871, p. 15, where this point is further developed.)¹ Further, it is self-evident that the criticism of socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also, that the remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition parties (Section IV), although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated.

¹ K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. I, Moscow 1951, p. 468 ff.—Ed.

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But, then, the Manifesto has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter. A subsequent edition may perhaps appear with an introduction bridging the gap from 1847 to the present day; this reprint was too unexpected to leave us time for that.

Karl Marx Frederick Engels

London, June 24, 1872

PREFACE TO THE RUSSIAN
EDITION OF 1882

The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, translated by Bakunin, was published early in the sixties¹ by the printing office of the *Kolokol*. Then the West could see in it (the *Russian* edition of the Manifesto) only a literary curiosity. Such a view would be impossible today.

What a limited field the proletarian movement still occupied at that time (December 1847) is most clearly shown by the last section of the Manifesto: the position of the Communists in relation to the various opposition parties in the various countries. Precisely Russia and the United States are missing here. It was the time when Russia constituted the last great reserve of all European reaction, when the United States absorbed

¹ The edition referred to appeared in 1869. In Engels's Preface to the English Edition of 1888, the publication date of this Russian translation of the *Manifesto* is also incorrectly given (see p. 23).—Ed.

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the surplus proletarian forces of Europe through immigration. Both countries provided Europe with raw materials and were at the same time markets for the sale of its industrial products. At that time both were, therefore, in one way or another, pillars of the existing European order.

How very different today! Precisely European immigration fitted North America for a gigantic agricultural production, whose competition is shaking the very foundations of European landed property—large and small. In addition it enabled the United States to exploit its tremendous industrial resources with an energy and on a scale that must shortly break the industrial monopoly of Western Europe, and especially of England, existing up to now. Both circumstances react in revolutionary manner upon America itself. Step by step the small and middle land ownership of the farmers, the basis of the whole political constitution, is succumbing to the competition of giant farms; simultaneously, a mass proletariat and a fabulous concentration of capitals are developing for the first time in the industrial regions.

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And now Russia! During the Revolution of 1848-49 not only the European princes, but the European bourgeois as well, found their only salvation from the proletariat, just beginning to awaken, in Russian intervention. The tsar was proclaimed the chief of European reaction. Today he is a prisoner of war of the revolution, in Gatchina, and Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe.

The Communist Manifesto had as its object the proclamation of the inevitably impending dissolution of modern bourgeois property. But in Russia we find, face to face with the rapidly developing capitalist swindle and bourgeois landed property, just beginning to develop, more than half the land owned in common by the peasants. Now the question is: can the Russian *obshchina*,¹ though greatly undermined, yet a form of the primeval common ownership of land, pass directly to the higher form of communist common ownership? Or on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution as constitutes the historical evolution of the West?

¹ *Obshchina*: Village community.—Ed.

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The only answer to that possible today is this: If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development.

Karl Marx F. Engels

London, January 21, 1882

PREFACE TO THE GERMAN
EDITION OF 1883

The preface to the present edition I must, alas, sign alone. Marx, the man to whom the whole working class of Europe and America owes more than to anyone else—rests at Highgate Cemetery and over his grave the first grass is already growing. Since his death, there can be even less thought of revising or supplementing the Manifesto. All the more do I consider it necessary again to state here the following expressly:

The basic thought running through the Manifesto—that economic production and the structure of society of every historical epoch necessarily arising therefrom constitute the foundation for the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently (ever since the dissolution of the primeval communal ownership of land) all history has been a history of class struggles, of struggles between exploited and exploiting,

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between dominated and dominating classes at various stages of social development; that this struggle, however, has now reached a stage where the exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) can no longer emancipate itself from the class which exploits and oppresses it (the bourgeoisie), without at the same time forever freeing the whole of society from exploitation, oppression and class struggles—this basic thought belongs solely and exclusively to Marx.¹

I have already stated this many times; but precisely now it is necessary that it also stand in front of the Manifesto itself.

F. Engels

London, June 28, 1883

¹ "This proposition," I wrote in the preface to the English translation, "which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my 'Condition of the Working Class in England.' But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here." [Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.]

PREFACE TO THE ENGLISH
EDITION OF 1883

The "Manifesto" was published as the platform of the "Communist League," a workingmen's association, first exclusively German, later on international, and, under the political conditions of the Continent before 1848, unavoidably a secret society. At a Congress of the League, held in London in November, 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned to prepare for publication a complete theoretical and practical party-programme. Drawn up in German, in January, 1848, the manuscript was sent to the printer in London a few weeks before the French revolution of February 24th. A French translation was brought out in Paris, shortly before the insurrection of June, 1848. The first English translation, by Miss Helen Macfarlane, appeared in George Julian Harney's "Red Republican," London,

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1850. A Danish and a Polish edition had also been published.

The defeat of the Parisian insurrection of June, 1848,—the first great battle between Proletariat and Bourgeoisie—drove again into the background, for a time, the social and political aspirations of the European working class. Thenceforth, the struggle for supremacy was again, as it had been before the revolution of February, solely between different sections of the propertied class; the working class was reduced to a fight for political elbow-room, and to the position of extreme wing of the middle-class Radicals. Wherever independent proletarian movements continued to show signs of life, they were ruthlessly hunted down. Thus the Prussian police hunted out the Central Board of the Communist League, then located in Cologne. The members were arrested, and, after eighteen months' imprisonment, they were tried in October, 1852. This celebrated "Cologne Communist trial" lasted from October 4th till November 12th; seven of the prisoners were sentenced to terms of imprisonment in a fortress, varying from three to six years. Immediately after the sentence, the

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League was formally dissolved by the remaining members. As to the "Manifesto," it seemed thenceforth to be doomed to oblivion.

When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once proclaim the principles laid down in the "Manifesto." The International was bound to have a programme broad enough to be acceptable to the English Trades' Unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy, and Spain, and to the Lassalleans^a in Germany. Marx, who drew up this programme to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very

^a Lassalle personally, to us, always acknowledged himself to be a disciple of Marx, and, as such, stood on the ground of the "Manifesto." But in his public agitation, 1862-64, he did not go beyond demanding co-operative workshops supported by State credit. [*Note by Engels.*]

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events and vicissitudes of the struggle against Capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favourite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up in 1874, left the workers quite different men from what it had found them in 1864. Proudhonism in France, Lassalleism in Germany were dying out, and even the Conservative English Trades' Unions, though most of them had long since severed their connexion with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which, last year at Swansea, their President could say in their name "Continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us." In fact: the principles of the "Manifesto" had made considerable headway among the working men of all countries.

The "Manifesto" itself thus came to the front again. The German text had been, since 1850, reprinted several times in Switzerland, England and America. In 1872, it was translated into English in New York, where the translation

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was published in "Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly." From this English version, a French one was made in "*Le Socialiste*" of New York. Since then at least two more English translations, more or less mutilated, have been brought out in America, and one of them has been reprinted in England. The first Russian translation, made by Bakounine, was published at Herzen's "Kokolok" office in Geneva, about 1863; a second one, by the heroic Vera Zasulich,¹ also in Geneva, 1882. A new Danish edition is to be found in "Social-demokratisk Bibliothek," Copenhagen, 1885; a fresh French translation in "*Le Socialiste*," Paris, 1885. From this latter a Spanish version was prepared and published in Madrid, 1886. The German reprints are not to be counted, there have been twelve altogether at the least. An Armenian translation, which was to be published in Constantinople some months ago, did not see the light, I am told, because the publisher was

¹ As a matter of fact, Plekhanov was the translator. In the afterword to the article "Social Relations in Russia," published in *Internationales aus dem Volksstaat* (1871-75), Berlin 1894, Engels himself refers to this translation as Plekhanov's.—Ed.

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afraid of bringing out a book with the name of Marx on it, while the translator declined to call it his own production. Of further translations into other languages I have heard, but have not seen them. Thus the history of the "Manifesto" reflects, to a great extent, the history of the modern working-class movement; at present it is undoubtedly the most wide-spread, the most international production of all Socialist literature, the common platform acknowledged by millions of working men from Siberia to California.

Yet, when it was written, we could not have called it a *Socialist* Manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manners of tinkering, professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working-class movement, and looking rather to the "educated" classes for support.

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Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social change, that portion then called itself Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism, in France, of Cabet, and in Germany, of Weitling. Thus, Socialism was, in 1847, a middle-class movement, Communism a working-class movement. Socialism was, on the Continent at least, "respectable"; Communism was the very opposite. And as our notion, from the very beginning, was that "the emancipation of the working class must be the act of the working class itself," there could be no doubt as to which of the two names we must take. Moreover, we have, ever since, been far from repudiating it.

The "Manifesto" being our joint production, I consider myself bound to state that the fundamental proposition, which forms its nucleus, belongs to Marx. That proposition is: that in every historical epoch, the prevailing mode of econom-

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ic production and exchange, and the social organisation necessarily following from it, form the basis upon which is built up, and from which alone can be explained, the political and intellectual history of that epoch; that consequently the whole history of mankind (since the dissolution of primitive tribal society, holding land in common ownership) has been a history of class struggles, contests between exploiting and exploited, ruling and oppressed classes; that the history of these class struggles forms a series of evolutions in which, now-a-days, a stage has been reached where the exploited and oppressed class—the proletariat—cannot attain its emancipation from the sway of the exploiting and ruling class—the bourgeoisie—without, at the same time, and once and for all, emancipating society at large from all exploitation, oppression, class distinctions and class struggles.

This proposition which, in my opinion, is destined to do for history what Darwin's theory has done for biology, we, both of us, had been gradually approaching for some years before 1845. How far I had independently progressed towards it, is best shown by my "Condition of the Work-

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ing Class in England."¹ But when I again met Marx at Brussels, in spring, 1845, he had it ready worked out, and put it before me, in terms almost as clear as those in which I have stated it here.

From our joint preface to the German edition of 1872, I quote the following:—

"However much the state of things may have altered during the last twenty-five years, the general principles laid down in this Manifesto are, on the whole, as correct today as ever. Here and there some detail might be improved. The practical application of the principles will depend, as the Manifesto itself states, everywhere and at all times, on the historical conditions for the time being existing, and, for that reason, no special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently worded today. In view of the gigantic strides of Modern Industry since 1848, and

¹ "The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844." By Frederick Engels. Translated by Florence K. Wishnewetzky, New York. Lovell—London. W. Reeves, 1888. [*Note by Engels.*]

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of the accompanying improved and extended organisation of the working class,¹ in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February Revolution, and then, still more, in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this programme has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, *viz.*, that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made State machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.' (See "The Civil War in France; Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association," London, Truelove, 1871, p. 15,² where this point is further developed.) Further, it is self-evident, that the criticism of Socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also, that the remarks on the relation of the Communists to the various opposition parties (Section IV), although in

¹ In the German original of 1872 this phrase is worded somewhat differently. Cf. p. 10 of the present edition.—*Ed.*

² K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Two-Vol. ed., Vol. I, Moscow 1951, p. 468.—*Ed.*

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principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated.

"But then, the Manifesto has become a historical document which we have no longer any right to alter."

The present translation is by Mr. Samuel Moore, the translator of the greater portion of Marx's "Capital." We have revised it in common, and I have added a few notes explanatory of historical allusions.

Frederick Engels

London, 30th January 1888

PREFACE TO THE GERMAN EDITION OF 1890

Since the above was written,¹ a new German edition of the Manifesto has again become necessary, and much has also happened to the Manifesto which should be recorded here.

A second Russian translation—by Vera Zasulich—appeared at Geneva in 1882; the preface to that edition was written by Marx and myself. Unfortunately, the original German manuscript has gone astray; I must therefore retranslate from the Russian, which will in no way improve the text.² It reads:

"The first Russian edition of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, translated by Bakunin,

¹ Engels is referring to his preface to the German edition of 1883.—*Ed.*

² The lost German original ms. of the preface of Marx and Engels to the Russian edition of the Manifesto has been found and is kept in the archives of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin Institute in Moscow. The present English translation of this preface is made from the German original.—*Ed.*

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was published early in the sixties by the printing office of the *Kolokol*. Then the West could see in it (the Russian edition of the Manifesto) only a literary curiosity. Such a view would be impossible today.

"What a limited field the proletarian movement still occupied at that time (December 1847) is most clearly shown by the last section of the Manifesto: the position of the Communists in relation to the various opposition parties in the various countries. Precisely Russia and the United States are missing here. It was the time when Russia constituted the last great reserve of all European reaction, when the United States absorbed the surplus proletarian forces of Europe through immigration. Both countries provided Europe with raw materials and were at the same time markets for the sale of its industrial products. At that time both were, therefore, in one way or another, pillars of the existing European order.

"How very different today! Precisely European immigration fitted North America for a gigantic agricultural production, whose competition is shaking the very foundations of European landed

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property—large and small. In addition it enabled the United States to exploit its tremendous industrial resources with an energy and on a scale that must shortly break the industrial monopoly of Western Europe, and especially of England, existing up to now. Both circumstances react in revolutionary manner upon America itself. Step by step the small and middle land ownership of the farmers, the basis of the whole political constitution, is succumbing to the competition of giant farms; simultaneously, a mass proletariat and a fabulous concentration of capitals are developing for the first time in the industrial regions.

"And now Russia! During the Revolution of 1848-49 not only the European princes, but the European bourgeois as well, found their only salvation from the proletariat, just beginning to awaken, in Russian intervention. The tsar was proclaimed the chief of European reaction. Today he is a prisoner of war of the revolution, in Gatchina, and Russia forms the vanguard of revolutionary action in Europe.

"The Communist Manifesto had as its object the proclamation of the inevitably impending dis-

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solution of modern bourgeois property. But in Russia we find, face to face with the rapidly developing capitalist swindle and bourgeois landed property, just beginning to develop, more than half the land owned in common by the peasants. Now the question is: can the Russian *obshchina*, though greatly undermined, yet a form of the primeval common ownership of land, pass directly to the higher form of communist common ownership? Or on the contrary, must it first pass through the same process of dissolution as constitutes the historical evolution of the West?

"The only answer to that possible today is this: If the Russian Revolution becomes the signal for a proletarian revolution in the West, so that both complement each other, the present Russian common ownership of land may serve as the starting point for a communist development.

Karl Marx Frederick Engels

London, January 21, 1882"

At about the same date, a new Polish version appeared in Geneva: *Manifest Komunistyczny*.

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Furthermore, a new Danish translation has appeared in the *Socialdemokratisk Bibliothek*, Kjöbenhavn 1885. Unfortunately it is not quite complete; certain essential passages, which seem to have presented difficulties to the translator, have been omitted, and in addition there are signs of carelessness here and there, which are all the more unpleasantly conspicuous since the translation indicates that had the translator taken a little more pains he would have done an excellent piece of work.

A new French version appeared in 1855 in *Le Socialiste* of Paris; it is the best published to date.

From this latter a Spanish version was published the same year, first in *El Socialista* of Madrid, and then re-issued in pamphlet form: *Manifiesto del Partido Comunista* por Carlos Marx y F. Engels, Madrid, Administración de *El Socialista*, Hernán Cortés 8.

As a matter of curiosity I may also mention that in 1887 the manuscript of an Armenian translation was offered to a publisher in Constantinople. But the good man did not have the courage to publish something bearing the name of

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Marx and suggested that the translator set down his own name as author, which the latter, however, declined.

After one and then another of the more or less inaccurate American translations had been repeatedly reprinted in England, an authentic version at last appeared in 1888. This was by my friend Samuel Moore, and we went through it together once more before it was sent to press. It is entitled: *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Authorised English Translation, edited and annotated by Frederick Engels. 1888. London, William Reeves, 185 Fleet st., E. C. I have added some of the notes of that edition to the present one.

The *Manifesto* has had a history of its own. Greeted with enthusiasm, at the time of its appearance, by the then still not at all numerous vanguard of scientific Socialism (as is proved by the translations mentioned in the first preface), it was soon forced into the background by the reaction that began with the defeat of the Paris workers in June 1848, and was finally excommunicated "according to law" by the conviction of the Cologne Communists in November 1852.

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With the disappearance from the public scene of the workers' movement that had begun with the February Revolution, the Manifesto too passed into the background.

When the working class of Europe had again gathered sufficient strength for a new onslaught upon the power of the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association came into being. Its aim was to weld together into *one* huge army the whole militant working class of Europe and America. Therefore it could not *set out* from the principles laid down in the Manifesto. It was bound to have a programme which would not shut the door on the English trade unions, the French, Belgian, Italian and Spanish Proudhonists and the German Lassalleans.¹ This programme—the preamble to the Rules of the International—was drawn up by Marx with a master hand acknowledged even by Bakunin and

¹ Lassalle personally, to us, always acknowledged himself to be a "disciple" of Marx, and, as such, stood, of course, on the ground of the Manifesto. Matters were quite different with regard to those of his followers who did not go beyond his demand for producers' co-operatives supported by state credits and who divided the whole working class into supporters of state assistance and supporters of self-assistance. [Note by Engels.]

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the Anarchists. For the ultimate triumph of the ideas set forth in the Manifesto Marx relied solely and exclusively upon the intellectual development of the working class, as it necessarily had to ensue from united action and discussion. The events and vicissitudes in the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the successes, could not but demonstrate to the fighters the inadequacy hitherto of their universal panaceas and make their minds more receptive to a thorough understanding of the true conditions for the emancipation of the workers. And Marx was right. The working class of 1874, at the dissolution of the International, was altogether different from that of 1864, at its foundation. Proudhonism in the Latin countries and the specific Lassalleism in Germany were dying out, and even the then archconservative English trade unions were gradually approaching the point where in 1887 the chairman of their Swansea Congress could say in their name "Continental Socialism has lost its terrors for us." Yet by 1887 Continental Socialism was almost exclusively the theory heralded in the Manifesto. Thus, to a certain extent, the history

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of the Manifesto reflects the history of the modern working-class movement since 1848. At present it is doubtless the most widely circulated, the most international product of all Socialist literature, the common programme of many millions of workers of all countries, from Siberia to California.

Nevertheless, when it appeared we could not have called it a *Socialist* Manifesto. In 1847 two kinds of people were considered Socialists. On the one hand were the adherents of the various Utopian systems, notably the Owenites in England and the Fourierists in France, both of whom at that date had already dwindled to mere sects gradually dying out. On the other, the manifold types of social quacks who wanted to eliminate social abuses through their various universal panaceas and all kinds of patchwork, without hurting capital and profit in the least. In both cases, people who stood outside the labour movement and who looked for support rather to the "educated" classes. The section of the working class, however, which demanded a radical reconstruction of society, convinced that mere political revolutions were not enough, then called itself *Communist*.

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nist. It was still a rough-hewn, only instinctive, and frequently somewhat crude Communism. Yet it was powerful enough to bring into being two systems of Utopian Communism—in France the "Icarian" Communism of Cabet, and in Germany that of Weitling. Socialism in 1847 signified a bourgeois movement, Communism a working-class movement. Socialism was, on the Continent at least, quite respectable, whereas Communism was the very opposite. And since we were very decidedly of the opinion as early as then that "the emancipation of the workers must be the act of the working class itself," we could have no hesitation as to which of the two names we should choose. Nor has it ever occurred to us since to repudiate it.

"Working men of all countries, unite!" But few voices responded when we proclaimed these words to the world forty-two years ago, on the eve of the first Paris Revolution in which the proletariat came out with demands of its own. On September 28, 1864, however, the proletarians of most of the Western European countries joined hands in the International Working Men's Association of glorious memory. True, the International

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itself lived only nine years. But that the eternal union of the proletarians of all countries created by it is still alive and lives stronger than ever, there is no better witness than this day. Because today, as I write these lines, the European and American proletariat is reviewing its fighting forces, mobilised for the first time, mobilised as *one* army, under *one* flag, for *one* immediate aim: the standard eight-hour working day, to be established by legal enactment, as proclaimed by the Geneva Congress of the International in 1866, and again by the Paris Workers' Congress in 1889. And today's spectacle will open the eyes of the capitalists and landlords of all countries to the fact that today the working men of all countries are united indeed.

If only Marx were still by my side to see this with his own eyes!

F. Engels

London, May 1, 1890

PREFACE TO THE POLISH
EDITION OF 1892¹

The fact that a new Polish edition of the Communist Manifesto has become necessary gives rise to various thoughts.

First of all, it is noteworthy that of late the Manifesto has become an index, as it were, of the development of large-scale industry on the European continent. In proportion as large-scale industry expands in a given country, the demand grows among the workers of that country for enlightenment regarding their position as the working class in relation to the possessing classes, the socialist movement spreads among them and the demand for the Manifesto increases. Thus, not only the state of the labour movement but also the degree of development of large-scale industry can be measured with fair accuracy in

¹ The translation of the Preface to the Polish Edition given here is from the German original.—*Ed.*

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every country by the number of copies of the Manifesto circulated in the language of that country.

Accordingly, the new Polish edition indicates a decided progress of Polish industry. And there can be no doubt whatever that this progress since the previous edition published ten years ago has actually taken place. Russian Poland, Congress Poland, has become the big industrial region of the Russian Empire. Whereas Russian large-scale industry is scattered sporadically—a part round the Gulf of Finland, another in the centre (Moscow and Vladimir), a third along the coasts of the Black and Azov seas, and still others elsewhere—Polish industry has been packed into a relatively small area and enjoys both the advantages and the disadvantages arising from such concentration. The competing Russian manufacturers acknowledged the advantages when they demanded protective tariffs against Poland, in spite of their ardent desire to transform the Poles into Russians. The disadvantages—for the Polish manufacturers and the Russian government—are manifest in the rapid spread of socialist ideas among the Polish workers

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and in the growing demand for the Manifesto.

But the rapid development of Polish industry, outstripping that of Russia, is in its turn a new proof of the inexhaustible vitality of the Polish people and a new guarantee of its impending national restoration. And the restoration of an independent strong Poland is a matter which concerns not only the Poles but all of us. A sincere international collaboration of the European nations is possible only if each of these nations is fully autonomous in its own house. The Revolution of 1848, which under the banner of the proletariat, after all, merely let the proletarian fighters do the work of the bourgeoisie, also secured the independence of Italy, Germany and Hungary through its testamentary executors, Louis Bonaparte and Bismarck; but Poland, which since 1792 had done more for the Revolution than all these three together, was left to its own resources when it succumbed in 1863 to a tenfold greater Russian force. The nobility could neither maintain nor regain Polish independence; today, to the bourgeoisie, this independence is, to say the least, immaterial.

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Nevertheless, it is a necessity for the harmonious collaboration of the European nations. It can be gained only by the young Polish proletariat, and in its hands it is secure. For the workers of all the rest of Europe need the independence of Poland just as much as the Polish workers themselves.

F. Engels

London, February 10, 1892

PREFACE TO THE ITALIAN
EDITION OF 1893

TO THE ITALIAN READER

Publication of the *Manifesto of the Communist Party* coincided, one may say, with March 18, 1848, the day of the revolutions in Milan and Berlin, which were armed uprisings of the two nations situated in the centre, the one, of the continent of Europe, the other, of the Mediterranean; two nations until then enfeebled by division and internal strife, and thus fallen under foreign domination. While Italy was subject to the Emperor of Austria, Germany underwent the yoke, not less effective though more indirect, of the Tsar of all the Russias. The consequences of March 18, 1848, freed both Italy and Germany from this disgrace; if from 1848 to 1871 these two great nations were reconstituted and somehow again put on their own, it was, as Karl Marx used to say, because the men who suppressed

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the Revolution of 1848 were, nevertheless, its testamentary executors in spite of themselves.

Everywhere that revolution was the work of the working class; it was the latter that built the barricades and paid with its lifeblood. Only the Paris workers, in overthrowing the government, had the very definite intention of overthrowing the bourgeois regime. But conscious though they were of the fatal antagonism existing between their own class and the bourgeoisie, still, neither the economic progress of the country nor the intellectual development of the mass of French workers had as yet reached the stage which would have made a social reconstruction possible. In the final analysis, therefore, the fruits of the revolution were reaped by the capitalist class. In the other countries, in Italy, in Germany, in Austria, the workers, from the very outset, did nothing but raise the bourgeoisie to power. But in any country the rule of the bourgeoisie is impossible without national independence. Therefore, the Revolution of 1848 had to bring in its train the unity and autonomy of the nations that had lacked them up to then: Italy, Germany, Hungary. Poland will follow in turn.

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Thus, if the Revolution of 1848 was not a socialist revolution, it paved the way, prepared the ground for the latter. Through the impetus given to large-scale industry in all countries, the bourgeois regime during the last forty-five years has everywhere created a numerous, concentrated and powerful proletariat. It has thus raised, to use the language of the *Manifesto*, its own gravediggers. Without restoring autonomy and unity to each nation, it will be impossible to achieve the international union of the proletariat, or the peaceful and intelligent co-operation of these nations toward common aims. Just imagine joint international action by the Italian, Hungarian, German, Polish and Russian workers under the political conditions preceding 1848!

The battles fought in 1848 were thus not fought in vain. Nor have the forty-five years separating us from that revolutionary epoch passed to no purpose. The fruits are ripening, and all I wish is that the publication of this Italian translation may augur as well for the victory of the Italian proletariat as the publication of the original did for the international revolution.

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The *Manifesto* does full justice to the revolutionary part played by capitalism in the past. The first capitalist nation was Italy. The close of the feudal Middle Ages, and the opening of the modern capitalist era are marked by a colossal figure: an Italian, Dante, both the last poet of the Middle Ages and the first poet of modern times. Today, as in 1300, a new historical era is approaching. Will Italy give us the new Dante, who will mark the hour of birth of this new, proletarian era?

Frederick Engels

London, February 1, 1893



COVER OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE MANIFESTO
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

MANIFESTO OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

A spectre is haunting Europe—the spectre of Communism. All the Powers of old Europe have entered into a holy alliance to exorcise this spectre: Pope and Czar, Metternich and Guizot, French Radicals and German police-spies.

Where is the party in opposition that has not been decried as Communistic by its opponents in power? Where the Opposition that has not hurled back the branding reproach of Communism, against the more advanced opposition parties, as well as against its reactionary adversaries?

Two things result from this fact.

I. Communism is already acknowledged by all European Powers to be itself a Power.

II. It is high time that Communists should

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openly, in the face of the whole world, publish their views, their aims, their tendencies, and meet this nursery tale of the Spectre of Communism with a Manifesto of the party itself.

To this end, Communists of various nationalities have assembled in London, and sketched the following Manifesto, to be published in the English, French, German, Italian, Flemish and Danish languages.

I

BOURGEOIS AND PROLETARIANS^a

The history of all hitherto existing society^b is the history of class struggles.

^a By bourgeoisie is meant the class of modern Capitalists, owners of the means of social production and employers of wage labour. By proletariat, the class of modern wage-labourers who, having no means of production of their own, are reduced to selling their labour power in order to live. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

^b That is, all written history. In 1847, the pre-history of society, the social organisation existing previous to recorded history, was all but unknown. Since then, Haxthausen discovered common ownership of land in Russia, Maurer proved it to be the social foundation from which all Teutonic races started in history, and by and bye village communities were found to be, or to have been the primitive form of society everywhere from India to Ireland. The inner organisation of this primitive Communistic society was laid bare, in its typical form, by Morgan's crowning discovery of the true nature of the *gens* and its relation to the *tribe*. With the dissolution of these primeval communities society begins to be differentiated into separate and finally antagonistic classes. I have attempted to retrace this process of dissolution in: „Der Ursprung der Fami-

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Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master^c and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.

In the earlier epochs of history, we find almost everywhere a complicated arrangement of society into various orders, a manifold gradation of social rank. In ancient Rome we have patricians, knights, plebeians, slaves; in the Middle Ages, feudal lords, vassals, guild-masters, journeymen, apprentices, serfs; in almost all of these classes, again, subordinate gradations.

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but estab-

lie, des Privateigentums und des Staats" [*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*], 2nd edition, Stuttgart 1886. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

^c Guild-master, that is, a full member of a guild, a master within, not a head of a guild. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

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lished new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat.

From the serfs of the Middle Ages sprang the chartered burghers of the earliest towns. From these burgesses the first elements of the bourgeoisie were developed.

The discovery of America, the rounding of the Cape, opened up fresh ground for the rising bourgeoisie. The East-Indian and Chinese markets, the colonisation of America, trade with the colonies, the increase in the means of exchange and in commodities generally, gave to commerce, to navigation, to industry, an impulse never before known, and thereby, to the revolutionary element in the tottering feudal society, a rapid development.

The feudal system of industry, under which industrial production was monopolised by closed

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guilds, now no longer sufficed for the growing wants of the new markets. The manufacturing system took its place. The guild-masters were pushed on one side by the manufacturing middle class; division of labour between the different corporate guilds vanished in the face of division of labour in each single workshop.

Meantime the markets kept ever growing, the demand ever rising. Even manufacture no longer sufficed. Thereupon, steam and machinery revolutionised industrial production. The place of manufacture was taken by the giant, Modern Industry, the place of the industrial middle class, by industrial millionaires, the leaders of whole industrial armies, the modern bourgeois.

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land. This development has, in its turn, reacted on the extension of industry; and in proportion as industry, commerce, navigation, railways extended, in the same proportion the bourgeoisie developed, increased its

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capital, and pushed into the background every class handed down from the Middle Ages.

We see, therefore, how the modern bourgeoisie is itself the product of a long course of development, of a series of revolutions in the modes of production and of exchange.

Each step in the development of the bourgeoisie was accompanied by a corresponding political advance of that class. An oppressed class under the sway of the feudal nobility, an armed and self-governing association in the mediaeval commune;^d here independent urban republic (as in Italy and Germany), there taxable "third estate" of the monarchy (as in France), afterwards, in the period of manufacture proper, serving either

^d "Commune" was the name taken, in France, by the nascent towns even before they had conquered from their feudal lords and masters local self-government and political rights as the "Third Estate." Generally speaking, for the economical development of the bourgeoisie, England is here taken as the typical country; for its political development, France. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

This was the name given their urban communities by the townsmen of Italy and France, after they had purchased or wrested their initial rights of self-government from their feudal lords. [Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.]

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the semi-feudal or the absolute monarchy as a counterpoise against the nobility, and, in fact, corner-stone of the great monarchies in general, the bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative State, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that

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single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage-labourers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation to a mere money relation.

The bourgeoisie has disclosed how it came to pass that the brutal display of vigour in the Middle Ages, which Reactionists so much admire, found its fitting complement in the most slothful indolence. It has been the first to shew what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former Exoduses of nations and crusades.

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with

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them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form, was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life, and his relations with his kind.

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connexions everywhere.

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country. To the great chagrin of Reactionists, it has drawn from under the feet of industry the

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national ground on which it stood. All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilised nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the productions of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal inter-dependence of nations. And as in material, so also in intellectual production. The intellectual creations of individual nations become common property. National one-sidedness and narrow-mindedness become more and more impossible, and from the numerous national and local literatures, there arises a world literature.

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all,

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even the most barbarian, nations into civilisation. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, *i.e.*, to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilised ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West.

The bourgeoisie keeps more and more doing away with the scattered state of the population, of the means of production, and of property. It has agglomerated population, centralised means

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of production, and has concentrated property in a few hands. The necessary consequence of this was political centralisation. Independent, or but loosely connected provinces, with separate interests, laws, governments and systems of taxation, became lumped together into one nation, with one government, one code of laws, one national class-interest, one frontier and one customs-tariff.

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of Nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam-navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalisation of rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labour?

We see then: the means of production and of exchange, on whose foundation the bourgeoisie built itself up, were generated in feudal society. At a certain stage in the development of these

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means of production and of exchange, the conditions under which feudal society produced and exchanged, the feudal organisation of agriculture and manufacturing industry, in one word, the feudal relations of property became no longer compatible with the already developed productive forces; they became so many fetters. They had to be burst asunder; they were burst asunder.

Into their place stepped free competition, accompanied by a social and political constitution adapted to it, and by the economical and political sway of the bourgeois class.

A similar movement is going on before our own eyes. Modern bourgeois society with its relations of production, of exchange and of property, a society that has conjured up such gigantic means of production and of exchange, is like the sorcerer, who is no longer able to control the powers of the nether world whom he has called up by his spells. For many a decade past the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule.

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It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put on its trial, each time more threateningly, the existence of the entire bourgeois society. In these crises a great part not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of over-production. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed; and why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary, they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property.

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The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them. And how does the bourgeoisie get over these crises? On the one hand by enforced destruction of a mass of productive forces; on the other, by the conquest of new markets, and by the more thorough exploitation of the old ones. That is to say, by paving the way for more extensive and more destructive crises, and by diminishing the means whereby crises are prevented.

The weapons with which the bourgeoisie felled feudalism to the ground are now turned against the bourgeoisie itself.

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, *i.e.*, capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working class, developed—a class of labourers, who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a com-

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modity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery and to division of labour, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him. Hence, the cost of production of a workman is restricted, almost entirely, to the means of subsistence that he requires for his maintenance, and for the propagation of his race. But the price of a commodity, and therefore also of labour,¹ is equal to its cost of production. In proportion, therefore, as the repulsiveness of the work increases, the wage decreases. Nay more, in proportion as the use of machinery and division of

¹ Subsequently Marx pointed out that the worker does not sell his labour but his labour power. See in this connexion Engels's introduction to Marx's *Wage Labour and Capital*, 1891, in K. Marx and F. Engels, *Selected Works*, Eng. ed., Vol. I, Moscow 1951, pp. 66-73.—Ed.

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labour increases, in the same proportion the burden of toil also increases, whether by prolongation of the working hours, by increase of the work exacted in a given time or by increased speed of the machinery, etc.

Modern industry has converted the little workshop of the patriarchal master into the great factory of the industrial capitalist. Masses of labourers, crowded into the factory, are organised like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois State; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the over-looker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself. The more openly this despotism proclaims gain to be its end and aim, the more petty, the more hateful and the more embittering it is.

The less the skill and exertion of strength implied in manual labour, in other words, the more modern industry becomes developed, the more is the labour of men superseded by that of women. Differences of age and sex have no long-

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er any distinctive social validity for the working class. All are instruments of labour, more or less expensive to use, according to their age and sex.

No sooner is the exploitation of the labourer by the manufacturer, so far, at an end, that he receives his wages in cash, than he is set upon by the other portions of the bourgeoisie, the landlord, the shopkeeper, the pawnbroker, etc.

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population.

The proletariat goes through various stages of development. With its birth begins its struggle with the bourgeoisie. At first the contest is carried on by individual labourers, then by the workpeople of a factory, then by the operatives of one trade, in one locality, against the individ-

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ual bourgeois who directly exploits them. They direct their attacks not against the bourgeois conditions of production, but against the instruments of production themselves; they destroy imported wares that compete with their labour, they smash to pieces machinery, they set factories ablaze, they seek to restore by force the vanished status of the workman of the Middle Ages.

At this stage the labourers still form an incoherent mass scattered over the whole country, and broken up by their mutual competition. If anywhere they unite to form more compact bodies, this is not yet the consequence of their own active union, but of the union of the bourgeoisie, which class, in order to attain its own political ends, is compelled to set the whole proletariat in motion, and is moreover yet, for a time, able to do so. At this stage, therefore, the proletarians do not fight their enemies, but the enemies of their enemies, the remnants of absolute monarchy, the landowners, the non-industrial bourgeois, the petty bourgeoisie. Thus the whole historical movement is concentrated in the hands of the bourgeoisie; every victory so obtained is a victory for the bourgeoisie.

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But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number; it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalised, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crises, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up the rate of wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks out into riots.

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Now and then the workers are victorious, but only for a time. The real fruit of their battles lies, not in the immediate result, but in the ever-expanding union of the workers. This union is helped on by the improved means of communication that are created by modern industry and that place the workers of different localities in contact with one another. It was just this contact that was needed to centralise the numerous local struggles, all of the same character, into one national struggle between classes. But every class struggle is a political struggle. And that union, to attain which the burghers of the Middle Ages, with their miserable highways, required centuries, the modern proletarians, thanks to railways, achieve in a few years.

This organisation of the proletarians into a class, and consequently into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier. It compels legislative recognition of particular interests of the workers, by taking advantage of the divisions among the bourgeoisie itself. Thus the ten-hours' bill in England was carried.

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Altogether collisions between the classes of the old society further, in many ways, the course of development of the proletariat. The bourgeoisie finds itself involved in a constant battle. At first with the aristocracy; later on, with those portions of the bourgeoisie itself, whose interests have become antagonistic to the progress of industry; at all times, with the bourgeoisie of foreign countries. In all these battles it sees itself compelled to appeal to the proletariat, to ask for its help, and thus, to drag it into the political arena. The bourgeoisie itself, therefore, supplies the proletariat with its own elements of political and general education, in other words, it furnishes the proletariat with weapons for fighting the bourgeoisie.

Further, as we have already seen, entire sections of the ruling classes are, by the advance of industry, precipitated into the proletariat, or are at least threatened in their conditions of existence. These also supply the proletariat with fresh elements of enlightenment and progress.

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour, the process of dissolution going on within the ruling class, in fact

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within the whole range of old society, assumes such a violent, glaring character, that a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands. Just as, therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideologists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole.

Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product.

The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of his-

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tory. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.

The "dangerous class," the social scum, that passively rotting mass thrown off by the lowest layers of old society, may, here and there, be swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution; its conditions of life, however, prepare it far more for the part of a bribed tool of reactionary intrigue.

In the conditions of the proletariat, those of old society at large are already virtually swamped. The proletarian is without property; his relation to his wife and children has no longer anything in common with the bourgeois family relations; modern industrial labour, modern subjection to capital, the same in England as in France, in America as in Germany, has stripped him of every trace of national character. Law, morality, religion, are to him so many bourgeois prejudices, behind which lurk in ambush just as many bourgeois interests.

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All the preceding classes that got the upper hand, sought to fortify their already acquired status by subjecting society at large to their conditions of appropriation. The proletarians cannot become masters of the productive forces of society, except by abolishing their own previous mode of appropriation, and thereby also every other previous mode of appropriation. They have nothing of their own to secure and to fortify; their mission is to destroy all previous securities for, and insurances of, individual property.

All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interest of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority. The proletariat, the lowest stratum of our present society, cannot stir, cannot raise itself up, without the whole superincumbent strata of official society being sprung into the air.

Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle. The proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

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In depicting the most general phases of the development of the proletariat, we traced the more or less veiled civil war, raging within existing society, up to the point where that war breaks out into open revolution, and where the violent overthrow of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation for the sway of the proletariat.

Hitherto, every form of society has been based, as we have already seen, on the antagonism of oppressing and oppressed classes. But in order to oppress a class, certain conditions must be assured to it under which it can, at least, continue its slavish existence. The serf, in the period of serfdom, raised himself to membership in the commune, just as the petty bourgeois, under the yoke of feudal absolutism, managed to develop into a bourgeois. The modern labourer, on the contrary, instead of rising with the progress of industry, sinks deeper and deeper below the conditions of existence of his own class. He becomes a pauper, and pauperism develops more rapidly than population and wealth. And here it becomes evident, that the bourgeoisie is unfit any longer to be the ruling class in society, and to impose its conditions of existence upon society as an

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over-riding law. It is unfit to rule because it is incompetent to assure an existence to its slave within his slavery, because it cannot help letting him sink into such a state, that it has to feed him, instead of being fed by him. Society can no longer live under this bourgeoisie, in other words, its existence is no longer compatible with society.

The essential condition for the existence, and for the sway of the bourgeois class, is the formation and augmentation of capital; the condition for capital is wage labour. Wage labour rests exclusively on competition between the labourers. The advance of industry, whose involuntary promoter is the bourgeoisie, replaces the isolation of the labourers, due to competition, by their revolutionary combination, due to association. The development of Modern Industry, therefore, cuts from under its feet the very foundation on which the bourgeoisie produces and appropriates products. What the bourgeoisie, therefore, produces, above all, is its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

II

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In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from the other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and

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everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.

The Communists, therefore, are on the one hand, practically, the most advanced and resolute section of the working-class parties of every country, that section which pushes forward all others; on the other hand, theoretically, they have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement.

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat.

The theoretical conclusions of the Communists are in no way based on ideas or principles that have been invented, or discovered, by this or that would-be universal reformer.

They merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle, from a historical movement going on under our very eyes. The abolition of existing

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property relations is not at all a distinctive feature of Communism.

All property relations in the past have continually been subject to historical change consequent upon the change in historical conditions.

The French Revolution, for example, abolished feudal property in favour of bourgeois property.

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonisms, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property.

We Communists have been reproached with the desire of abolishing the right of personally acquiring property as the fruit of a man's own labour, which property is alleged to be the ground work of all personal freedom, activity and independence.

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Hard-won, self-acquired, self-earned property! Do you mean the property of the petty artisan and of the small peasant, a form of property that preceded the bourgeois form? There is no need to abolish that; the development of industry has to a great extent already destroyed it, and is still destroying it daily.

Or do you mean modern bourgeois private property?

But does wage labour create any property for the labourer? Not a bit. It creates capital, *i.e.*, that kind of property which exploits wage labour, and which cannot increase except upon condition of begetting a new supply of wage labour for fresh exploitation. Property, in its present form, is based on the antagonism of capital and wage labour. Let us examine both sides of this antagonism.

To be a capitalist, is to have not only a purely personal; but a social *status* in production. Capital is a collective product, and only by the united action of many members, nay, in the last resort, only by the united action of all members of society, can it be set in motion.

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Capital is, therefore, not a personal, it is a social power.

When, therefore, capital is converted into common property, into the property of all members of society, personal property is not thereby transformed into social property. It is only the social character of the property that is changed. It loses its class character.

Let us now take wage labour.

The average price of wage labour is the minimum wage, *i.e.*, that quantum of the means of subsistence, which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage-labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence. We by no means intend to abolish this personal appropriation of the products of labour, an appropriation that is made for the maintenance and reproduction of human life, and that leaves no surplus wherewith to command the labour of others. All that we want to do away with, is the miserable character of this appropriation, under which the labourer lives merely to increase capital, and is allowed to live only in so

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far as the interest of the ruling class requires it.

In bourgeois society, living labour is but a means to increase accumulated labour. In Communist society, accumulated labour is but a means to widen, to enrich, to promote the existence of the labourer.

In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present; in Communist society, the present dominates the past. In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality.

And the abolition of this state of things is called by the bourgeois, abolition of individuality and freedom! And rightly so. The abolition of bourgeois individuality, bourgeois independence, and bourgeois freedom is undoubtedly aimed at.

By freedom is meant, under the present bourgeois conditions of production, free trade, free selling and buying.

But if selling and buying disappears, free selling and buying disappears also. This talk about free selling and buying, and all the other "brave

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words" of our bourgeoisie about freedom in general, have a meaning, if any, only in contrast with restricted selling and buying, with the fettered traders of the Middle Ages, but have no meaning when opposed to the Communistic abolition of buying and selling, of the bourgeois conditions of production, and of the bourgeoisie itself.

You are horrified at our intending to do away with private property. But in your existing society, private property is already done away with for nine-tenths of the population; its existence for the few is solely due to its non-existence in the hands of those nine-tenths. You reproach us, therefore, with intending to do away with a form of property, the necessary condition for whose existence is, the non-existence of any property for the immense majority of society.

In one word, you reproach us with intending to do away with your property. Precisely so; that is just what we intend.

From the moment when labour can no longer be converted into capital, money, or rent, into a social power capable of being monopolised, *i.e.*, from the moment when individual property can no longer be transformed into bourgeois

You must, therefore, confess that by "individual" you mean no other person than the bourgeois, than the middle-class owner of property. This person must, indeed, be swept out of the way, and made impossible.

It has been objected that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness; for those of its members who work, acquire nothing, and those who acquire anything, do not work. The whole of this objection is but another expression of the tautology; that there can no longer be any wage labour when there is no longer any capital.

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[Handwritten notes in German script, mostly illegible due to extreme fading.]

(The entire text is in Marx's hand, except the first two lines, which were written by his wife, Jenny Marx)

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rial products, have, in the same way, been urged against the Communistic modes of producing and appropriating intellectual products. Just as, to the bourgeois, the disappearance of class property is the disappearance of production itself, so the disappearance of class culture is to him identical with the disappearance of all culture.

That culture, the loss of which he laments, is, for the enormous majority, a mere training to act as a machine.

But don't wrangle with us so long as you apply, to our intended abolition of bourgeois property, the standard of your bourgeois notions of freedom, culture, law &c. Your very ideas are but the outgrowth of the conditions of your bourgeois production and bourgeois property, just as your jurisprudence is but the will of your class made into a law for all, a will, whose essential character and direction are determined by the economical conditions of existence of your class.

The selfish misconception that induces you to transform into eternal laws of nature and of reason, the social forms springing from your present mode of production and form of proper-

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ty—historical relations that rise and disappear in the progress of production—this misconception you share with every ruling class that has preceded you. What you see clearly in the case of ancient property, what you admit in the case of feudal property, you are of course forbidden to admit in the case of your own bourgeois form of property.

Abolition of the family! Even the most radical flare up at this infamous proposal of the Communists.

On what foundation is the present family, the bourgeois family, based? On capital, on private gain. In its completely developed form this family exists only among the bourgeoisie. But this state of things finds its complement in the practical absence of the family among the proletarians, and in public prostitution.

The bourgeois family will vanish as a matter of course when its complement vanishes, and both will vanish with the vanishing of capital.

Do you charge us with wanting to stop the exploitation of children by their parents? To this crime we plead guilty.

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But, you will say, we destroy the most hallowed of relations, when we replace home education by social.

And your education! Is not that also social, and determined by the social conditions under which you educate, by the intervention, direct or indirect, of society, by means of schools, &c? The Communists have not invented the intervention of society in education; they do but seek to alter the character of that intervention, and to rescue education from the influence of the ruling class.

The bourgeois clap-trap about the family and education, about the hallowed co-relation of parent and child, becomes all the more disgusting, the more, by the action of Modern Industry, all family ties among the proletarians are torn asunder, and their children transformed into simple articles of commerce and instruments of labour.

But you Communists would introduce community of women, screams the whole bourgeoisie in chorus.

The bourgeois sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the instru-

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ments of production are to be exploited in common, and, naturally, can come to no other conclusion than that the lot of being common to all will likewise fall to the women.

He has not even a suspicion that the real point aimed at is to do away with the status of women as mere instruments of production.

For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous indignation of our bourgeois at the community of women which, they pretend, is to be openly and officially established by the Communists. The Communists have no need to introduce community of women; it has existed almost from time immemorial.

Our bourgeois, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take the greatest pleasure in seducing each others' wives.

Bourgeois marriage is in reality a system of wives in common and thus, at the most, what the Communists might possibly be reproached with, is that they desire to introduce, in substitution for a hypocritically concealed, an openly legalised community of women. For the rest,

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It is self-evident that the abolition of the present system of production must bring with it the abolition of the community of women springing from that system, *i.e.*, of prostitution both public and private.

The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality.

The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got. Since the proletariat must first of all acquire political supremacy, must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself *the* nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not in the bourgeois sense of the word.

National differences and antagonisms between peoples are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilised countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.

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In proportion as the exploitation of one individual by another is put an end to, the exploitation of one nation by another will also be put an end to. In proportion as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end.

The charges against Communism made from a religious, a philosophical, and, generally, from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society, the elements of a new

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one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keeps even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes, the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to rationalist ideas, feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience, merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly," it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But Communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion, and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

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What does this accusation reduce itself to? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, one fact is common to all past ages, *viz.*, the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The Communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.

But let us have done with the bourgeois objections to Communism.

We have seen above, that the first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

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The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, *i. e.*, of the proletariat organised as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionising the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.

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2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralisation of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralisation of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste-lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country, by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory la-

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bour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, &c., &c.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organised power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organise itself as a class, if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all.

III

SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST LITERATURE

1. REACTIONARY SOCIALISM

a. Feudal Socialism

Owing to their historical position, it became the vocation of the aristocracies of France and England to write pamphlets against modern bourgeois society. In the French revolution of July 1830, and in the English reform agitation, these aristocracies again succumbed to the hateful upstart. Thenceforth, a serious political contest was altogether out of question. A literary battle alone remained possible. But even in the domain of literature the old cries of the restoration period^a had become impossible.

^a Not the English Restoration 1660 to 1689, but the French Restoration 1814 to 1830. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

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In order to arouse sympathy, the aristocracy were obliged to lose sight, apparently, of their own interests, and to formulate their indictment against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the exploited working class alone. Thus the aristocracy took their revenge by singing lampoons on their new master, and whispering in his ears sinister prophecies of coming catastrophe.

In this way arose feudal Socialism: half lamentation, half lampoon; half echo of the past, half menace of the future; at times, by its bitter, witty and incisive criticism, striking the bourgeoisie to the very heart's core; but always ludicrous in its effect, through total incapacity to comprehend the march of modern history.

The aristocracy, in order to rally the people to them, waved the proletarian alms-bag in front for a banner. But the people, so often as it joined them, saw on their hindquarters the old feudal coats of arms, and deserted with loud and irreverent laughter.

One section of the French Legitimists¹ and

¹ *The Legitimists*: The party of the noble landowners, who advocated the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty.—Ed.

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"Young England"¹ exhibited this spectacle.

In pointing out that their mode of exploitation was different to that of the bourgeoisie, the feudalists forget that they exploited under circumstances and conditions that were quite different, and that are now antiquated. In showing that, under their rule, the modern proletariat never existed, they forget that the modern bourgeoisie is the necessary offspring of their own form of society.

For the rest, so little do they conceal the reactionary character of their criticism that their chief accusation against the bourgeoisie amounts to this, that under the bourgeois *régime* a class is being developed, which is destined to cut up root and branch the old order of society.

What they upbraid the bourgeoisie with is not so much that it creates a proletariat, as that it creates a *revolutionary* proletariat.

In political practice, therefore, they join in all coercive measures against the working class;

¹ "Young England": A group of British Conservatives—aristocrats and men of politics and literature—formed about 1842. Prominent among them were Disraeli, Thomas Carlyle and others.—*Ed.*

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and in ordinary life, despite their high-falutin phrases, they stoop to pick up the golden apples dropped from the tree of industry, and to barter truth, love, and honour for traffic in wool, beetroot-sugar, and potato spirits.^b

As the parson has ever gone hand in hand with the landlord, so has Clerical Socialism with Feudal Socialism.

Nothing is easier than to give Christian asceticism a Socialist tinge. Has not Christianity declaimed against private property, against marriage, against the State? Has it not preached in the place of these, charity and poverty, celibacy and mortification of the flesh, monastic life and Mother Church? Christian Socialism is but the holy water with which the priest consecrates the heart-burnings of the aristocrat.

^b This applies chiefly to Germany where the landed aristocracy and squirearchy have large portions of their estates cultivated for their own account by stewards, and are, moreover, extensive beetroot-sugar manufacturers and distillers of potato spirits. The wealthier British aristocracy are, as yet, rather above that; but they, too, know how to make up for declining rents by lending their names to floaters of more or less shady joint-stock companies. [*Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.*]

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b. Petty-Bourgeois Socialism

The feudal aristocracy was not the only class that was ruined by the bourgeoisie, not the only class whose conditions of existence pined and perished in the atmosphere of modern bourgeois society. The mediaeval burgesses and the small peasant proprietors were the precursors of the modern bourgeoisie. In those countries which are but little developed, industrially and commercially, these two classes still vegetate side by side with the rising bourgeoisie.

In countries where modern civilisation has become fully developed, a new class of petty bourgeois has been formed, fluctuating between proletariat and bourgeoisie and ever renewing itself as a supplementary part of bourgeois society. The individual members of this class, however, are being constantly hurled down into the proletariat by the action of competition, and, as modern industry develops, they even see the moment approaching when they will completely disappear as an independent section of modern society, to be replaced, in manufactures, agri-

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culture and commerce, by over-lookers, bailiffs and shopmen.

In countries like France, where the peasants constitute far more than half of the population, it was natural that writers who sided with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, should use, in their criticism of the bourgeois *régime*, the standard of the peasant and petty bourgeois, and from the standpoint of these intermediate classes should take up the cudgels for the working class. Thus arose petty-bourgeois Socialism. Sismondi was the head of this school, not only in France but also in England.

This school of Socialism dissected with great acuteness the contradictions in the conditions of modern production. It laid bare the hypocritical apologies of economists. It proved, incontrovertibly, the disastrous effects of machinery and division of labour; the concentration of capital and land in a few hands; overproduction and crises: it pointed out the inevitable ruin of the petty bourgeois and peasant, the misery of the proletariat, the anarchy in production, the crying inequalities in the distribution of wealth, the industrial war of extermination between nations,

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the dissolution of old moral bonds, of the old family relations, of the old nationalities.

In its positive aims, however, this form of Socialism aspires either to restoring the old means of production and of exchange, and with them the old property relations, and the old society, or to cramping the modern means of production and of exchange, within the framework of the old property relations that have been, and were bound to be, exploded by those means. In either case, it is both reactionary and Utopian.

Its last words are: corporate guilds for manufacture; patriarchal relations in agriculture.

Ultimately, when stubborn historical facts had dispersed all intoxicating effects of self-deception, this form of Socialism ended in a miserable fit of the blues.

c. German, or "True," Socialism

The Socialist and Communist literature of France, a literature that originated under the pressure of a bourgeoisie in power, and that was the expression of the struggle against this pow-

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er, was introduced into Germany at a time when the bourgeoisie, in that country, had just begun its contest with feudal absolutism.

German philosophers, would-be philosophers, and *beaux esprits*, eagerly seized on this literature, only forgetting, that when these writings immigrated from France into Germany, French social conditions had not immigrated along with them. In contact with German social conditions, this French literature lost all its immediate practical significance, and assumed a purely literary aspect. Thus, to the German philosophers of the Eighteenth Century, the demands of the first French Revolution were nothing more than the demands of "Practical Reason" in general, and the utterance of the will of the revolutionary French bourgeoisie signified in their eyes the laws of pure Will, of Will as it was bound to be, of true human Will generally.

The work of the German *literati* consisted solely in bringing the new French ideas into harmony with their ancient philosophical conscience, or rather, in annexing the French ideas without deserting their own philosophic point of view.

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This annexation took place in the same way in which a foreign language is appropriated, namely, by translation.

It is well known how the monks wrote silly lives of Catholic Saints *over* the manuscripts on which the classical works of ancient heathendom had been written. The German *literati* reversed this process with the profane French literature. They wrote their philosophical nonsense beneath the French original. For instance, beneath the French criticism of the economic functions of money, they wrote "Alienation of Humanity," and beneath the French criticism of the bourgeois State they wrote, "Dethronement of the Category of the General," and so forth.

The introduction of these philosophical phrases at the back of the French historical criticisms they dubbed "Philosophy of Action," "True Socialism," "German Science of Socialism," "Philosophical Foundation of Socialism," and so on.

The French Socialist and Communist literature was thus completely emasculated. And, since it ceased in the hands of the German to express the struggle of one class with the other, he felt conscious of having overcome "French one-

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sidedness" and of representing, not true requirements, but the requirements of Truth; not the interests of the proletariat, but the interests of Human Nature, of Man in general, who belongs to no class, has no reality, who exists only in the misty realm of philosophical fantasy.

This German Socialism, which took its school-boy task so seriously and solemnly, and extolled its poor stock-in-trade in such mountebank fashion, meanwhile gradually lost its pedantic innocence.

The fight of the German, and, especially, of the Prussian bourgeoisie, against feudal aristocracy and absolute monarchy, in other words, the liberal movement, became more earnest.

By this, the long wished-for opportunity was offered to "True" Socialism of confronting the political movement with the Socialist demands, of hurling the traditional anathemas against liberalism, against representative government, against bourgeois competition, bourgeois freedom of the press, bourgeois legislation, bourgeois liberty and equality, and of preaching to the masses that they had nothing to gain, and everything to lose, by this bour-

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geois movement. German Socialism forgot, in the nick of time, that the French criticism, whose silly echo it was, presupposed the existence of modern bourgeois society, with its corresponding economic conditions of existence, and the political constitution adapted thereto, the very things whose attainment was the object of the pending struggle in Germany.

To the absolute governments, with their following of parsons, professors, country squires and officials, it served as a welcome scarecrow against the threatening bourgeoisie.

It was a sweet finish after the bitter pills of floggings and bullets with which these same governments, just at that time, dosed the German working-class risings.

While this "True" Socialism thus served the governments as a weapon for fighting the German bourgeoisie, it, at the same time, directly represented a reactionary interest, the interest of the German Philistines. In Germany the *petty-bourgeois* class, a relic of the sixteenth century, and since then constantly cropping up again under various forms, is the real social basis of the existing state of things.

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To preserve this class is to preserve the existing state of things in Germany. The industrial and political supremacy of the bourgeoisie threatens it with certain destruction; on the one hand, from the concentration of capital; on the other, from the rise of a revolutionary proletariat. "True" Socialism appeared to kill these two birds with one stone. It spread like an epidemic.

The robe of speculative cobwebs, embroidered with flowers of rhetoric, steeped in the dew of sickly sentiment, this transcendental robe in which the German Socialists wrapped their sorry "eternal truths," all skin and bone, served to wonderfully increase the sale of their goods amongst such a public.

And on its part, German Socialism recognised, more and more, its own calling as the bombastic representative of the petty-bourgeois Philistine.

It proclaimed the German nation to be the model nation, and the German petty Philistine to be the typical man. To every villainous meanness of this model man it gave a hidden, higher, Socialistic interpretation, the exact contrary of its real character. It went to the ex-

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treme length of directly opposing the "brutally destructive" tendency of Communism, and of proclaiming its supreme and impartial contempt of all class struggles. With very few exceptions, all the so-called Socialist and Communist publications that now (1847) circulate in Germany belong to the domain of this foul and enervating literature.¹

2. CONSERVATIVE, OR BOURGEOIS, SOCIALISM

A part of the bourgeoisie is desirous of redressing social grievances, in order to secure the continued existence of bourgeois society.

To this section belong economists, philanthropists, humanitarians, improvers of the condition of the working class, organisers of charity, members of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, temperance fanatics, hole-and-corner reformers of every imaginable kind.

¹ The revolutionary storm of 1848 swept away this whole shabby tendency and cured its protagonists of the desire to dabble further in Socialism. The chief representative and classical type of this tendency is Herr Karl Grün. [Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.]

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This form of Socialism has, moreover, been worked out into complete systems.

We may cite Proudhon's *Philosophie de la Misère* as an example of this form.

The Socialistic bourgeois want all the advantages of modern social conditions without the struggles and dangers necessarily resulting therefrom. They desire the existing state of society minus its revolutionary and disintegrating elements. They wish for a bourgeoisie without a proletariat. The bourgeoisie naturally conceives the world in which it is supreme to be the best; and bourgeois Socialism develops this comfortable conception into various more or less complete systems. In requiring the proletariat to carry out such a system, and thereby to march straightway into the social New Jerusalem, it but requires in reality, that the proletariat should remain within the bounds of existing society, but should cast away all its hateful ideas concerning the bourgeoisie.

A second and more practical, but less systematic, form of this Socialism sought to depreciate every revolutionary movement in the eyes of the working class, by showing that no mere

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political reform, but only a change in the material conditions of existence, in economical relations, could be of any advantage to them. By changes in the material conditions of existence, this form of Socialism, however, by no means understands abolition of the bourgeois relations of production, an abolition that can be effected only by a revolution, but administrative reforms, based on the continued existence of these relations; reforms, therefore, that in no respect affect the relations between capital and labour, but, at the best, lessen the cost, and simplify the administrative work, of bourgeois government.

Bourgeois Socialism attains adequate expression, when, and only when, it becomes a mere figure of speech.

Free trade: for the benefit of the working class. Protective duties: for the benefit of the working class. Prison Reform: for the benefit of the working class. This is the last word and the only seriously meant word of bourgeois Socialism.

It is summed up in the phrase: the bourgeois is a bourgeois—for the benefit of the working class.

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3. CRITICAL-UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

We do not here refer to that literature which, in every great modern revolution, has always given voice to the demands of the proletariat, such as the writings of Babeuf and others.

The first direct attempts of the proletariat to attain its own ends, made in times of universal excitement, when feudal society was being overthrown, these attempts necessarily failed, owing to the then undeveloped state of the proletariat, as well as to the absence of the economic conditions for its emancipation, conditions that had yet to be produced, and could be produced by the impending bourgeois epoch alone. The revolutionary literature that accompanied these first movements of the proletariat had necessarily a reactionary character. It inculcated universal asceticism and social levelling in its crudest form.

The Socialist and Communist systems properly so called, those of St. Simon, Fourier, Owen and others, spring into existence in the early undeveloped period, described above, of the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie (see Section I. Bourgeoisie and Proletariat).

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The founders of these systems see, indeed, the class antagonisms, as well as the action of the decomposing elements in the prevailing form of society. But the proletariat, as yet in its infancy, offers to them the spectacle of a class without any historical initiative or any independent political movement.

Since the development of class antagonism keeps even pace with the development of industry, the economic situation, as they find it, does not as yet offer to them the material conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat. They therefore search after a new social science, after new social laws, that are to create these conditions.

Historical action is to yield to their personal inventive action, historically created conditions of emancipation to fantastic ones, and the gradual, spontaneous class organisation of the proletariat to an organisation of society specially contrived by these inventors. Future history resolves itself, in their eyes, into the propaganda and the practical carrying out of their social plans.

In the formation of their plans they are

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conscious of caring chiefly for the interests of the working class, as being the most suffering class. Only from the point of view of being the most suffering class does the proletariat exist for them.

The undeveloped state of the class struggle, as well as their own surroundings, causes Socialists of this kind to consider themselves far superior to all class antagonisms. They want to improve the condition of every member of society, even that of the most favoured. Hence, they habitually appeal to society at large, without distinction of class; nay, by preference, to the ruling class. For how can people, when once they understand their system, fail to see in it the best possible plan of the best possible state of society?

Hence, they reject all political, and especially all revolutionary, action; they wish to attain their ends by peaceful means, and endeavour, by small experiments, necessarily doomed to failure, and by the force of example, to pave the way for the new social Gospel.

Such fantastic pictures of future society, painted at a time when the proletariat is still

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in a very undeveloped state and has but a fantastic conception of its own position correspond with the first instinctive yearnings of that class for a general reconstruction of society.

But these Socialist and Communist publications contain also a critical element. They attack every principle of existing society. Hence they are full of the most valuable materials for the enlightenment of the working class. The practical measures proposed in them—such as the abolition of the distinction between town and country, of the family, of the carrying on of industries for the account of private individuals, and of the wage system, the proclamation of social harmony, the conversion of the functions of the State into a mere superintendence of production, all these proposals point solely to the disappearance of class antagonisms which were, at that time, only just cropping up, and which, in these publications, are recognised in their earliest indistinct and undefined forms only. These proposals, therefore, are of a purely Utopian character.

The significance of Critical-Utopian Socialism and Communism bears an inverse relation to his-

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torical development. In proportion as the modern class struggle develops and takes definite shape, this fantastic standing apart from the contest, these fantastic attacks on it, lose all practical value and all theoretical justification. Therefore, although the originators of these systems were, in many respects, revolutionary, their disciples have, in every case, formed mere reactionary sects. They hold fast by the original views of their masters, in opposition to the progressive historical development of the proletariat. They, therefore, endeavour, and that consistently, to deaden the class struggle and to reconcile the class antagonisms. They still dream of experimental realisation of their social Utopias, of founding isolated "*phalanstères*", of establishing "Home Colonies," of setting up a "Little Icaria"^c —duodecimo edi-

^c *Phalanstères* were Socialist colonies on the plan of Charles Fourier; *Icaria* was the name given by Cabet to his Utopia and, later on, to his American Communist colony. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

"Home colonies" were what Owen called his Communist model societies. *Phalanstères* was the name of the public palaces planned by Fourier. *Icaria* was the name given to the Utopian land of fancy, whose Communist institutions Cabet portrayed. [Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.]

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tions of the New Jerusalem—and to realise all these castles in the air, they are compelled to appeal to the feelings and purses of the bourgeois. By degrees they sink into the category of the reactionary conservative Socialists depicted above, differing from these only by more systematic pedantry, and by their fanatical and superstitious belief in the miraculous effects of their social science.

They, therefore, violently oppose all political action on the part of the working class; such action, according to them, can only result from blind unbelief in the new Gospel.

The Owenites in England, and the Fourierists in France, respectively oppose the Chartists and the *Réformistes*.¹

¹ This refers to the adherents of the newspaper *La Réforme*, which was published in Paris from 1843 to 1850. —Ed.

IV
POSITION OF THE COMMUNISTS
IN RELATION
TO THE VARIOUS EXISTING
OPPOSITION PARTIES

Section II has made clear the relations of the Communists to the existing working-class parties, such as the Chartists in England and the Agrarian Reformers in America.

The Communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement. In France the Communists ally themselves with the Social-Democrats,^a against the

^a The party then represented in Parliament by Ledru-Rollin, in literature by Louis Blanc, in the daily press by the *Réforme*. The name of Social-Democracy signified, with these its inventors, a section of the Democratic or Republican party more or less tinged with Socialism. [Note by Engels to the English edition of 1888.]

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conservative and radical bourgeoisie, reserving, however, the right to take up a critical position in regard to phrases and illusions traditionally handed down from the great Revolution.

In Switzerland they support the Radicals, without losing sight of the fact that this party consists of antagonistic elements, partly of Democratic Socialists, in the French sense, partly of radical bourgeois.

In Poland they support the party that insists on an agrarian revolution as the prime condition for national emancipation, that party which fomented the insurrection of Cracow in 1846.

In Germany they fight with the bourgeoisie whenever it acts in a revolutionary way, against the absolute monarchy, the feudal squirearchy, and the petty bourgeoisie.¹

The party in France which at that time called itself Socialist-Democratic was represented in political life by Ledru-Rollin and in literature by Louis Blanc; thus it differed immeasurably from present-day German Social-Democracy. [Note by Engels to the German edition of 1890.]

¹ *Kleinbürgerei* in the German original. Marx and Engels used this term to describe the reactionary elements of the urban petty bourgeoisie.—Ed.

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But they never cease, for a single instant, to instil into the working class the clearest possible recognition of the hostile antagonism between bourgeoisie and proletariat, in order that the German workers may straightway use, as so many weapons against the bourgeoisie, the social and political conditions that the bourgeoisie must necessarily introduce along with its supremacy, and in order that, after the fall of the reactionary classes in Germany, the fight against the bourgeoisie itself may immediately begin.

The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeois revolution that is bound to be carried out under more advanced conditions of European civilisation, and with a much more developed proletariat, than that of England was in the seventeenth, and of France in the eighteenth century, and because the bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but the prelude to an immediately following proletarian revolution.

In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against

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the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front, as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a Communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

WORKING MEN OF ALL COUNTRIES, UNITE!

Documents

on

HUNGARY

**Speeches
at UNO**

With Appendix

50X1-HUM

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Soviet News Booklet No. 24

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**FULL TEXT
of the
SPEECH MADE BY D. T. SHEPILOV
U.S.S.R. Foreign Minister
in the
U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY
on November 19, 1956**

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN,

The Soviet delegation has objected to the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly session of the question of the situation in Hungary. We have been and remain of the opinion that this question is an internal affair of the Hungarian People's Republic.

You know that attempts to make use of the United Nations for interfering in the internal affairs of Hungary were already made at the special emergency session of the General Assembly. The Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of the Hungarian People's Republic protested against these attempts. In the telegram sent to the United Nations Secretary-General on November 12, 1956, Istvan Sebes, acting Foreign Minister of Hungary, wrote:

"The Hungarian government states most categorically that the settlement of the situation that has developed in Hungary falls exclusively within the lawful internal jurisdiction of the Hungarian state. Therefore any resolution of the General Assembly, dealing with the internal political situation in Hungary, constitutes interference in the internal affairs of Hungary and contradicts the provisions of Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the Charter."

The persistent efforts to keep the question of the situation in Hungary on the agenda of the session of the U.N. General Assembly have in no way been prompted by concern for the

interests of the Hungarian people, but by the intention of certain circles to divert public attention from the aggressive actions of Britain, France and Israel in Egypt, on the one hand, and to encourage the underground reactionary forces in Hungary by promising them United Nations support, on the other.

What Caused the Provocative Clamour Around the "Hungarian Issue"

As for the draft resolution tabled by the Cuban delegation, this document smacks of the rotten spirit of provocation. The draft contains slanderous allegations that "the government of the Soviet Union, with the consent of the Hungarian authorities, is forcibly deporting Hungarian prisoners beyond the Hungarian borders." Even in the worst period of the "cold war" it would have been difficult to find a document which violated the elementary requirements for justifying the accusations to such an extent as is the case here.

In an effort to lend a semblance of truth to the slanderous assertions, the authors of the Cuban draft resolution groundlessly refer to a mythical "report of the official Budapest Radio." A check-up has shown, however, that no such reports have been transmitted by Budapest Radio. Therefore the Cuban delegate today does not refer to this source. As another "source" of information the draft resolution mentions reports of "the entire world press." "The entire world press," incidentally, means here those press organs which obediently fulfil the orders of the reactionary circles and produce all sorts of fabrications about the situation in Hungary.

But today the Cuban delegate is forced to give up referring to this source also, because the "world press" does not furnish any such authentic facts.

What, in that case, are the provocative inventions of the Cuban delegate based on? On nothing whatsoever. He did not bother to prove anything and made filthy insinuations do duty for argumentation.

The references contained in the rehashed draft resolution to the alleged violations in Hungary of the convention on the prevention of genocide and the punishment for it, pursue the aim of lending a semblance of legality to this provocative document.

It is known, however, that this convention condemning acts committed for the purpose of annihilating people only because they belong to this or that national, ethnical, racial or religious group, has nothing to do with the situation in Hungary.

Had the Cuban delegation been seriously concerned with combating genocide it would have taken some interest in the situation in those countries where this monstrous practice is actually in evidence.

See, for instance, what is happening in Kenya. According to a *Reuter* report, a church missionary society stated on June 19 last year that the Kenya authorities had arrested and detained over 500,000 Negroes. The American journalist, Gunther, describing the operation carried out by the British authorities in Kenya against the Kikuyu tribe with the expressive name of "anvil," qualified it as one of the most effective manhunts in history. A whole army of jailers, 14,300-strong, is maintained to guard prisons and concentration camps in Kenya where thousands upon thousands of innocent people, including women and children, are languishing.

And what is happening in Algeria, where the people are gallantly fighting for freedom in spite of the most cruel reprisals? Eduard Deprés, leader of the Socialist group in the French National Assembly, on April 6 made public the following horrifying figure: he said that according to official statistics 48,000 Algerians had been annihilated in Algeria by French troops since the beginning of the struggle. *The Times of India* justly remarked on this score that if the French government's figure, which was an obvious underestimation, were to be believed, the scale of murder was to be regarded almost as a massacre.

These are the actions, gentlemen, against which the Cuban delegation should have raised its voice, had it really wished to combat genocide!

As for the wild invention that some "Hungarian prisoners," including women and children, are being deported beyond Hungary's borders, you know that it has been categorically refuted in Budapest—including by Budapest Radio, to which the Cuban delegation has so carelessly referred in its original resolution. On November 18 the government of the Hungarian Republic published an official communiqué which stated:

"The panic-mongering rumours that arrested people are being transported to the Soviet Union is a provocative

invention of the counter-revolutionary circles, which are becoming more helpless and powerless. In reality not a single arrested person has been deported from Hungary.

"The purpose of these provocative and false rumours is, on the one hand, to sow mistrust towards the government, to break the peace of the population and to hamper production, and on the other hand, to try and spoil in this way the relations between the population and the Soviet Army units."

Thus, the myth of the deportation of Hungarian citizens to the Soviet Union has collapsed. And yet the Cuban delegation permits itself to drag to the General Assembly session this stinking newspaper canard picked up on the rubbish heap of refuted misinformation! The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic has said its weighty word about this unseemly insinuation. It was this delegation that expounded in detail the essence of the so-called Hungarian question.

We have nothing to discuss as regards the Cuban delegation's draft, for it is based on slander. However, since the General Assembly has decided to postpone the general discussion and immediately to begin the debate on the draft resolution submitted by the Cuban delegation, the Soviet delegation finds it necessary on its part to give an objective analysis of the situation in Hungary.

For the last few weeks the powerful propaganda machine at the disposal of the reactionary forces has been flooding the world with monstrous misinformation about the events in Hungary. Deceiving millions of people, the sponsors of this campaign are trying to make political capital and to poison the atmosphere around the U.S.S.R.

This was the origin, for instance, of the monstrous lie that the Soviet troops in Budapest ransacked a children's hospital and killed hundreds of children there. This falsehood has been energetically disseminated in the press throughout the capitalist world. The French *Figaro*, for instance, published under hysterical headlines a falsified "radiogram" from Budapest to the effect that Soviet tanks were crushing to death sick children and medical nurses trying to save them. On November 11, the *United Press* agency reported the complete destruction of the children's hospital in Budapest and alleged that a correspondent had stated

that later on he saw (!) 300 corpses of children brought out from the ruined building.

This slander was taken up and repeated by many American newspapers. Thus, the *Daily Mirror* and the *Washington Post* published a report from a special correspondent of the *North American Newspaper Alliance* who went to such lengths in his dishonesty as to state that he had seen corpses of small children—approximately 300—lying in rows on the ground by the ruins of the hospital.

This malicious and slanderous campaign about the children's hospital that was raging for many days, and bringing to mind the choicest tricks of Goebbels, was bound to end, as it naturally did, in failure. On November 13 the American newspapers had to publish a joint denial sent from Budapest through Vienna by correspondents of three agencies—*Associated Press*, *United Press* and *Reuter*. They stated that, as proved by a check-up, the children's hospital remained intact and not one of the 300 or more children in it had been injured.

Now that the myth about "atrocities" of the Soviet Army has been exploded, another wild invention has been brought into play, that the Soviet Command is deporting from Hungary either thousands or scores of thousands of Hungarian women and children. This time the slanderers have again been caught red-handed. But what do they care! Again they are resuming their filthy dealings and are sure to launch tomorrow some other new invention.

Why are those in charge of the reactionary propaganda campaign making such a fuss now? They have been ordered to smear the Soviet army men who responded to the appeal for help which came from Hungary when that country was on the verge of being submerged by the fascist terror, and helped the Hungarian people to prevent the greatest catastrophe—the restoration of the fascist Horthyist state as a stronghold of aggression, a breeding ground of war in the very centre of Europe.

The attempts to create an atmosphere of anti-Soviet and anti-communist hysteria pursue the aim of making it easier for the forces of sinister reaction to wage the struggle against the democratic forces in all countries. But no matter how hard the reactionary propaganda machine may try to distort the real state of affairs, truth will win.

Real Essence of Hungarian Events

Now what has really taken place in Hungary, according to the information the Soviet Union possesses?

As the facts show, the former leadership of Hungary had committed gross mistakes and distortions in general political questions and in its economic policy. These mistakes, as well as the economic difficulties which had arisen in Hungary during the reconstruction of her national economy, aroused the just dissatisfaction of a part of the population which demanded the elimination of the shortcomings and mistakes. These demands were supported by many Hungarian leaders.

The actions of the masses of the people, who on October 23 came out against the grave mistakes and distortions committed by the former leadership of Hungary, were absolutely lawful. Soon, however, reactionary fascist elements who strove to undermine the people's democratic system and overthrow it, attempted to utilise this healthy movement for their own ends. Already on October 23, when a demonstration was taking place in Budapest in which many working people inspired by good intentions took part, the heads of the counter-revolutionary underground brought out into the streets armed groups they had whipped together in advance. They provoked in Budapest mass disorders which later developed into an insurgence of the forces hostile to the people.

Striving quickly to put an end to this insurgence, the Hungarian government asked the consent of the government of the U.S.S.R. for the use of Soviet military units, stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty, in helping the Hungarian authorities charged with the task of ensuring order and tranquillity in Budapest. A telegram received by the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic on October 24, 1956, reads:

"On behalf of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic I beg the government of the Soviet Union to send the Soviet troops in Budapest to help to put an end to the disorders in Budapest, to restore order as soon as possible and to create conditions for peaceful creative labour."

This request reflected the will of the Hungarian people for the early restoration of order in the country. And even Imre Nagy, who subsequently, conniving with the reactionary forces,

began to surrender the positions of the socialist state, said on October 25 that the introduction of the Soviet troops in the struggle against the counter-revolutionary forces became "imperative for the sake of the vital interest of our socialist system."

The Soviet Union, of course, could not refuse to grant the request of a friendly state for assistance. Several days later, however, bearing in mind that the further presence of Soviet military units in Budapest might provide a pretext for further aggravating the situation, the U.S.S.R. government, with the consent of the Hungarian government, ordered its forces to leave the Hungarian capital.

What happened next? As soon as the Soviet troops left Budapest the reactionary forces threw off their mask and began massacring democratic leaders of Hungary and upright Hungarian patriots. In these difficult days for Hungary the fascists were hanging patriots on the lamp posts in the streets of Budapest. They broke into hospitals and shot the wounded. They smashed up factories, set light to theatres and museums. After the rebels had set the National Museum in Budapest alight, they fired with sub-machine guns and machine guns on the fire brigade men and the soldiers who were trying to salvage the treasures in the museums. As in the cursed Hitler period, the streets of Budapest were lit up by the ill-boding fire of stakes on which the bodies of Hungarian patriots drenched in paraffin were burnt. Next, as in Hitler's days, books were burnt, the immortal works of progressive writers and the thinkers of mankind.

Thus, the counter-revolutionary forces, who aimed at the overthrow of the people's democratic system in Hungary, were gradually taking the upper hand. These forces tried to wipe out the achievements of the socialist revolution, they smashed up nationalised enterprises, state-owned shops, dislocated the means of transport and communications.

The counter-revolutionary forces, which became more and more brazen, pushed the Imre Nagy government, which had lost control of the situation, further and further on to the road of conniving with the rebels. Former Horthy and gendarmerie officers became increasingly active. The counter-revolution revealed its real face to all the people in the White terror. Well organised and armed counter-revolutionary gangs brutally killed hundreds of workers, peasants, intellectuals and progressive people who fell into their hands.

I am citing only a few facts made public in such press organs in the capitalist countries which can hardly be suspected of sympathy with the communists. Thus *Associated Press* reported on October 31 that a hunt took place in the Hungarian capital for "members of the secret police" and that 130 secret police officials, taken prisoner on Tuesday, October 30, in the battle for the Budapest headquarters of the Communist Party, were hung up by their feet and beaten to death. The lie that the members of the Hungarian Working People's Party who fell victims to this monstrous lynching were "secret police officials" does not justify the fascist murderers. It only adds to their immoral aspect the feature of disgusting cowardice in face of the judgment of public opinion.

The special correspondent of the West German *Die Welt* reported from Budapest that hundreds of Hungarian patriots were shot, hanged or drowned. He cited this fact, for instance: Fascist rebels, having taken prisoner 40 Hungarian patriots, buried them alive in an underground gallery, from where the knocking of the doomed people was heard for a long time.

The organ of the West German Social Democratic Party, *Vorwaerts*, also confirmed that massacres of innocent people occurred in the days that counter-revolution was rampant in Hungary. "The terrorists," *Vorwaerts* emphasised, "wiped out not only communists, but also members of their families—women and children." *The New York Herald-Tribune's* special correspondent also reported from Budapest that many innocent people fell victim to the rebels.

Who were the direct organisers of all these crimes? Workers? Peasants? Intellectuals? No, they were the former exploiting top leadership. The *New York Times*, analysing the class composition of the rebels, said openly that they were the remnants of the overthrown classes: rich men whom the communists had made poor, former landlords and wealthy peasants, repressed clergymen and others. The remnants of the fascist troops routed during the Second World War, and since entrenched in Western Germany, were thrown in from abroad to assist them. Thus, according to Italian press reports, detachments of Hungarian fascist émigrés who formerly belonged to the Horthy army crossed through Austria into Hungary on the night of October 29. They were armed with American weapons. And such men are now boosted as champions of freedom and democracy!

A so-called "Hungarian committee" was set up in Vienna to

render assistance to the rebels. Otto Hapsburg, the son of Horthy, the son of Gömböös—Hitler's placeman in Hungary—and other representatives of the forces of dark reaction came out of their holes to encourage the participants in the counter-revolutionary putsch. As the Austrian *Salzburger Volksblatt* wrote: "The crop sown by the emigration residing in the West which for many years has been enticing Hungary with the false promise of liberation by the West, is now yielding bloody fruit."

Thus the terrible spectre of the fascist beast rose over the peaceful fields of Hungary. The lives of millions of Hungarians, their elementary civil rights, their homes, property and safety were placed in jeopardy.

The Imre Nagy government, far from being able to counter reaction's onslaught, gradually removed, under its pressure, the representatives of the democratic forces of the nation from the government. Ultimately the Nagy government disintegrated, surrendering its positions to reaction, which tried to establish a fascist dictatorship in the country. Chaos set in in Hungary.

In this grave situation the sections of the working people who in the first stage, not understanding the events, in one way or another fell for the provocative calls of the instigators of the rebellion, began to take a more sober view. The people's democratic forces in Hungary began to put up a resistance to fascism. Honest statesmen left the Nagy government, realising that it was but a screen for fascist reaction, which had begun to lord it in the country. Janos Kadar, Deputy Prime Minister in the Nagy government, formed a new Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government. This government aimed at the maintenance of the democratic achievements of the Hungarian people, defence of the people's democratic system. The attainment of this aim was impossible without routing the reactionary fascist gangs which were trying to re-establish the old Horthy fascist régime.

The new government asked the Soviet Union for assistance in repulsing the onslaught of the fascist forces, in restoring order and normal life in the country. It was not easy for the Soviet government to take a decision. We were aware of the difficulties inevitably attending the use of the forces of one country in another country. The Soviet government, however, could not remain indifferent to the fate of friendly Hungary.

It is common knowledge that the Soviet people sacrificed millions of their sons in the struggle for the liberation of Europe

from fascist tyranny, including the liberation of Hungary. And now the threat of enslavement by fascist reaction was once again hanging over the Hungarian people.

History would never have forgiven the Hungarian working people and the Soviet people, who made tremendous sacrifices for the liberation of Hungary from fascist oppression, if now, 12 years after the routing of the Hitler hordes in the Second World War, the Hungarian and Soviet peoples had retreated in face of the participants in the counter-revolutionary putsch and allowed them to re-establish a hotbed of fascism in the centre of Europe.

The Soviet people could not but discharge their duty with regard to the Hungarian People's Republic, the more so since the peace treaty with Hungary, to which, by the way, the signatures of the United States and Britain are affixed, envisages not only the dissolution of all fascist-type organisations in Hungary but also Hungary's obligation to prevent the functioning and the activities of such organisations in the future.

Neither could we fail to take into consideration that Hungary borders on the Soviet Union and that the U.S.S.R. is linked with Hungary by the Warsaw Treaty of friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance, uniting a group of states. The victory of the reactionary forces in Hungary would have converted her into a new springboard for aggressive war, not only against the Soviet Union but also against the other countries of Eastern Europe. We are convinced that any democratic government tied by bonds of friendship to a neighbouring country could not disregard such a call for assistance as that issued from Hungary.

The Hungarian revolutionary forces, assisted by Soviet Army units, have put the rebellion down in a brief space of time. The Hungarian government, carrying out its democratic programme, is bringing the country's life back to normal.

From this rostrum some speakers have slandered the Soviet Army. They were not unique in this. In recent weeks streams of lies and monstrous fabrications concerning the Hungarian developments have been poured out for broad sections of newspaper readers and radio listeners. The most grievous and bloody atrocities which the Horthy fascist plotters perpetrated in those tragic days for Hungary were attributed with unmatched cynicism to the Soviet Army men, who, not sparing their lives, selflessly did everything to curb and render harmless precisely these fascist plotters and executioners.

I do not consider it necessary to defend here the Soviet Army, to speak of its moral features, its principles. It does not need this. The whole world knows that when the armed hordes of fascist barbarians flooded Europe, sowing death and destruction, and when it seemed that civilisation created during thousands of years would be trampled underfoot and destroyed, it was precisely the Soviet Army that smashed the main forces of the Hitler Wehrmacht, thus saving the world from the threat of fascist enslavement hanging over it. In those unprecedented battles the Soviet soldiers showed to the whole world not only heroism but also their lofty moral principles. Centuries will pass, but grateful mankind will pay homage and glorify this feat of the Soviet Army.

That is why no lies and no insinuations of slanderers will cling to the Soviet Army.

Role of Foreign Reaction in Organising Putsch Against the People

I should now like to touch upon another aspect of the question under discussion.

Information at our disposal makes it utterly clear that the events in Hungary would have taken quite a different turn and would not have caused bloodshed, if the actions of the internal counter-revolutionary forces of Hungary had not been backed from the very outset by foreign instigators who had long since been preparing to stage a fascist putsch against the people's democratic system in Hungary. As a matter of fact, this activity of foreign subversive centres is no secret. It is being carried out, not by private groups or organisations, but by state institutions subordinate to the highest government agencies and drawing on the national budget.

It is significant, for instance, that the American Senate resolved last year to include in the Congressional Record a document containing a detailed plan for subversive actions against the socialist states. This plan envisages, among other things, the training of special personnel for guiding resistance operations, for propaganda, subversive activities, and infiltration into those countries. The author of the plan, David Sarnoff, wrote that they needed a network of schools and universities training cadres

for the cold war. The purpose was not education in the literal sense of the word, but special training for the intellectual, technical, intelligence and other needs of ideological and psychological warfare, and a kind of political warfare academy could be set up.

Many western agencies have for a long time been using every means of propaganda in order to disseminate calls for the overthrow of the existing political system in the democratic countries: they are setting up "special centres" in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Austria from which systematic subversive activities are being conducted against East European states, including the sending of spies and subversive groups to the territories of those countries.

It is not by chance that there has been a marked increase in the intervention of United States ruling circles in the internal affairs of Hungary since the middle of 1955. Messages from official leaders of the United States to the Hungarian people calling for the overthrow of the lawful authorities; the resolution adopted by the House of Representatives on April 16, this year, openly calling for the "liberation" of the people's democracies; the systematic subversive broadcasts by radio stations of certain western countries; the large-scale dissemination of slanderous leaflets by means of balloons; open support for the fascist scum among the Hungarian émigrés; the smuggling of spies and saboteurs into Hungary—all this, as has now become clear, had the object of furthering the conspiracy against the people which was being prepared underground.

You know very well that the subversive activity of the United States against the countries of Eastern Europe has been made legal by the American Congress and, more than that, raised to the level of official policy. Just remember how heated were the debates at the General Assembly when the law, unprecedented in state practices, was adopted in the United States authorising the government to spend 100 million dollars for subversive activity! This Act openly stated that the money was intended for any selected (1) persons who were residing in or escapees from the Soviet Union, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, as well as the German Democratic Republic and other countries, either to form such persons into elements of the military forces supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation or for other purposes.

At that time the American diplomats tried to prove from

the United Nations rostrum that we had misinterpreted that law and that the point at issue was by no means expenditure for subversive activity but charity for refugees. But the law from which I have just quoted speaks for itself, and it says what its authors had in mind, namely, financing persons selected by the American intelligence service and living on the territory of socialist states and using them for subversive work by any methods, including forming such persons into "elements of military forces."

Since then, similar laws have been passed in the United States year after year, and hundreds of millions of dollars have been flowing like a river to feed the subversive activities. Another hundred million dollars for this activity in 1956-7 were allocated by Act No. 726 of July 18, 1956. In addition, legislation has given the right to draw on certain other funds so as to exceed this total of expenditure for subversive purposes.

In recent years a great number of subversive groups financed from abroad were exposed in the Hungarian People's Republic. In this connection the government of the Hungarian People's Republic repeatedly protested against the gross interference by certain western powers in the internal affairs of Hungary. Thus the counter-revolutionary putsch in Hungary had been in preparation for a long time, had been in preparation in a thorough and planned way, not without the active participation of outside forces. It goes without saying that the preparations were carried out in secret, but now and again some of the persons who were in the know let the cat out of the bag.

For instance, the well-known American observer Drew Pearson in an article in the *Daily Mirror* on November 8 quoted certain pronouncements made in a conversation with him by Bela Fabian, one of the ringleaders of the reactionary Hungarian émigrés abroad. "The Hungarian people will rise up. . . . With a little assistance from you, Hungary will flare up like a flame. . . . Your balloons have been of help," he said.

It should be remembered that on the eve of the bloody events in Hungary, Bela Varga, the leader of the Hungarian émigrés' centre in the United States, said in New York that underground circles in Hungary were about to start a rebellion. Varga "foretold" that Imre Nagy would regain power in a week or two and that Cardinal Mindszenty would come out of prison.

Even some American newspapers, commenting on the failure of the putsch in Hungary, are now compelled to admit the grave

responsibility of certain foreign circles for instigating the bloodshed in Hungary. Thus the *New York World Telegram and Sun*, in a leading article eloquently headed "On our Conscience," reproaches the American instigators for having raised "false hopes" among reactionary Hungarian underground forces. "Our propaganda," the newspaper said, "no matter how well we intended to conduct it, produced the impression that *the Yanks would come*."

Participants in the plot who have fled from Hungary following the failure of the counter-revolutionary putsch, are now stating publicly that when they took up arms they firmly believed they would receive the promised military aid. Just listen to what a special correspondent of the *Daily News* was told by a participant in the putsch who had fled to Austria: "Strong, big America incited us. . . ." Regretting that at the crucial moment the United States did not send its armed forces to help the rebels, he said: "America has lost her best army in Budapest."

The *Christian Science Monitor*, for its part, published on November 12 an article entitled: "Hungarian Rebels Said to Have Been Misled by Western Propaganda." This article bluntly states that the predominant sentiment among Hungarian insurgents who have arrived in the United States is bitter disillusion with regard to the West. According to the newspaper, the plotters, who had been given far-reaching promises, had been confident that they could expect from the West not only words of sympathy but also resolute and rapid political and, if necessary, military—I emphasise *military* (!)—actions.

And now, after the failure of the fascist venture, those who have on their conscience no small share of the responsibility for the bloodshed in Hungary are hypocritically shedding tears over the sufferings of the Hungarian people. They dare to give lectures and lessons on ethics to those who have helped the Hungarian people in defending their democratic gains and in saving their national independence. Isn't this too much hypocrisy, gentlemen?

Complete Normalisation of Situation is Concern of Hungarian People Themselves

It is being suggested here that the United States should intervene in the internal affairs of the Hungarian state. At a time when order is being restored in Hungary, when the government

of the Hungarian People's Republic has already started to carry out the big constructive programme it has announced, we are actually being recommended to rekindle the struggle against the people's democratic system in Hungary. It is only in this sense that we can understand the irresponsible calls we have heard here for a United Nations "police force" to be sent to Hungary, and the like. The initiators of proposals of this kind pretend not to understand that such measures can only endanger the cause of peace, not consolidate it.

Anyone who really wants Hungary to recover as soon as possible from the hard ordeals she has experienced and heal the wounds inflicted on her by the fascist rebels, should not obstruct the process of restoring public life to normal that is now going on in the country.

What does Hungary need most of all at the present time? It seems to us that she needs peace and tranquillity, vigorous work to bring economic life back to normal and to develop it, and the restoration of normal state and public activity. Can the line of provocation adopted by certain circles and reflected both in the resolution of the Cuban delegation and in some of the speeches made from this rostrum, be conducive to this? No, such a line is clearly aimed at disorganising public and economic life in Hungary instead of helping her.

The Hungarian people are now in need of material aid. The General Assembly has expounded its views on this matter. The Soviet Union and other socialist states are already helping Hungary on a considerable scale. Suffice it to say that up to 700 railway wagonloads of food, building materials and equipment are crossing the Soviet-Hungarian frontier every day into Hungary. It is well known that Hungary is receiving help from many other countries, too.

In the opinion of the Soviet delegation, the main task now is not to stir up passions about the so-called "Hungarian question" but to take the measures in our power to facilitate the speediest restoration of order, peace and tranquillity in that country. The Hungarian Workers' and Peasants' Government has already set to work to carry out broad constructive measures. And this is the most important guarantee that people's democratic Hungary, within the family of the other socialist states, will successfully advance along the path of peace and progress, developing business relations and relations of friendship with all states.

As regards the relationship between the Soviet Union and the

Hungarian People's Republic, the fundamental principles on which relations between socialist states are based are known. Being united by common ideals, the socialist states are building their relations on the basis of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. Not only does this not preclude but, on the contrary, it presupposes close fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance by socialist countries in all spheres. These principles have been reaffirmed in the declaration of the U.S.S.R. government of October 30, 1956. The Soviet government will firmly and consistently carry out in practice the principles of this declaration.

The question of the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary will also be settled in accordance with this declaration. On the basis of an agreement with the government of Hungary, Soviet troops will immediately be withdrawn from Budapest as soon as the situation in the Hungarian capital has become normal. At the same time, the Soviet government will enter into appropriate negotiations with the government of the Hungarian People's Republic, as a Warsaw Treaty country, on the question of the presence of Soviet troops on Hungary's territory.

The Soviet Union does not in the least favour the presence of troops from some countries on the territories of other countries. We agree with Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, who the other day spoke against military pacts in Asia or in Europe, against troops being stationed in other countries and the permission granted to foreign powers to have military bases in other countries. The Soviet government's statement on the question of disarmament and easing international tension, made public on November 17, contains an extensive and effective programme for the reduction of armed forces, the complete dismantling of all foreign air and naval bases on the territories of other countries within a definite time limit, and for subsequent universal disarmament.

The Soviet delegation proposes that the Cuban resolution be rejected as a slanderous falsification designed to poison the international atmosphere. The peoples will not forgive us if we follow in the wake of those who, by means of political speculations on the so-called "Hungarian question," want to divert the attention of the United Nations from urgent international problems, and in the first place from the problems that have arisen as a result of the aggression of Britain, France and

Israel against Egypt, for the situation there is still fraught with the greatest dangers.

Gentlemen, at this crucial moment, when certain quarters are making every effort to start up the "cold war" fever again in the world and to worsen international tension, it is the duty of all of us to do our utmost to strengthen peace and international co-operation. That is what the lofty mission of the United Nations calls for.

The Soviet Union has always been and remains a champion of peace and all-round co-operation among the nations. We shall firmly and persistently avail ourselves of every opportunity to strengthen day by day the cause of peace and the security of the peoples.

SPEECH OF D. T. SHEPILOV IN THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY

November 21, 1956

MR. PRESIDENT, GENTLEMEN,

I shall be brief. The Soviet delegation believes it necessary to make certain remarks in connection with the debates which have taken place in the General Assembly on the Cuban draft resolution. As was to be expected, neither the Cuban delegation which moved its slanderous resolution concerning the alleged mass deportation of Hungarians out of Hungary by the Soviet military command, nor those who supported this resolution could cite any facts to substantiate their groundless contentions.

These debates have done nothing except to confirm what the U.S.S.R. delegation and a number of other delegations have been warning against: All these statements have been made for the sole purpose of worsening the international situation, of poisoning the atmosphere in the United Nations with a miasma of suspicion and mistrust, diverting world opinion from problems truly vital for the cause of peace, and from the problems connected with the aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt in the first place.

Mr. Lodge, the United States delegate, attempting to help the Cuban delegate who was unable to make ends meet, spared no efforts to create a semblance of reasoning. However, the technique he employed was not marked by great diplomatic finesse. He mentioned several geographical points in Hungary and Rumania and also several addresses in Budapest, and then deliberately associated them with the myth about mass deportations. Mr. Lodge evidently expected that his words would be taken at their face value.

You recall how dramatically Mr. Lodge mentioned dates and addresses here. It is possible that this emotion might make a certain impression on an uninformed person. But first of all the question arises—what were the *facts* on which the American

delegate leaned for support? It transpired, however, that he has no facts at his disposal and he took the liberty of utilising in this distinguished forum all kinds of shady rumours circulated in Hungary by certain elements for definite purposes and, as a result, has landed in an awkward position.

Indeed, in order to prove his contentions Mr. Lodge referred, for instance, to an "official Budapest broadcast" at 3 p.m. Greenwich Mean Time, on November 14. I have the text of this broadcast before me. What does it say? In the first place it is not an "official Budapest broadcast," as Mr. Lodge asserted, but a re-broadcast of a report from the town of Szolnok saying how normal work was being resumed at the industrial enterprises in the region. Secondly, this broadcast does not contain a single fact or direct assertion concerning the deportation of Hungarians to the Soviet Union. It speaks only of rumours (I repeat: *of rumours!*) about the alleged transit of prisoners from Budapest in closed carriages bound for the east. In this connection, the Szolnok reporter said that "allegedly [allegedly!] the railwaymen went on strike again."

Thus you see that this is a case of plain juggling.

The United States delegate then asserted that the trains with Hungarians being deported to the U.S.S.R. went through Debrecen and Miskolc and even mentioned the dates when the trains passed through—November 9, 11 and 13. We asked that these facts be checked and received by telegram statements from the appropriate competent persons and organisations. With your permission I shall acquaint you with some of these documents.

The station-master at the Debrecen railway station, Imre Lacko, who by virtue of his position cannot fail to know what trains pass through his station, reports: "With full responsibility to the law I declare that on November 9, 11 and 13, I saw no trains which would have been deporting Hungarian prisoners to the Soviet Union and know nothing about such trains." Josef Szabo, a train chief of Debrecen railway station, confirms: "I, Josef Szabo, a train chief, declare that I did not see any Hungarian citizens being transported through Debrecen in an easterly direction." There are many similar statements from Debrecen railwaymen. If matters really were as described by the United States delegate, and if trains with deported Hungarians were really passing through Debrecen, if the people in these trains really asked, as he said, to be helped to escape, if they really handed over letters, etc., the workers of the Debrecen railway

junction should have been the first to know about it. But they deny that events of such a kind took place.

Miskolc presents a similar case. Here, for instance, is the statement by a member of the Executive Workers' Council of the Miskolc railway, Sandor Garadnai, residing in the city of Miskolc, at No. 128, Veresnai Street: "On November 14 of this year, I learned that rumours had spread in Miskolc about the alleged deportation of young Hungarians to the Soviet Union. I was told about this also by Gáza Nyers, chairman of the Railway Workers' Council. There was much talk about this in Miskolc in general. But I told people that these rumours must be checked. With this in view, I had a talk with the station-master to find out what the truth was. He said that these rumours did not correspond to the facts. I asked the station-master to make this known to the Regional Council. I told him that the Borsod Workers' Council was also interested in this problem, since similar rumours were widespread in the town, and also told him that I wanted to speak on the radio and tell the truth."

Sandor Garadnai investigated the rumours about the alleged deportation of young Hungarians from Hungary and convinced himself that they were groundless. Finally, he states categorically: "After all this, I believe that the rumours about the deportation of young people to the Soviet Union are a fabrication of provocateurs. People are trying to incite the Hungarian working people against the Soviet Union."

Evidently in order to lend drama to his speech, Mr. Lodge alleged that even wounded persons who were in hospital and schoolboys were deported from Budapest. He even mentioned Vörösmarty School. Here is what competent persons say on this subject. An official of the Budapest City Council in charge of schools, Sandor Abranyi, reports: "Contrary to the rumours, we, the 10th School Department of the Budapest Council, have no information of concrete instances, nor have we received any communications or information about such concrete instances of pupils of the Vörösmarty School being arrested or deported anywhere."

Finally, Kalman Pongracz, Mayor of Budapest, found it necessary to make the following statement:

"Following the defeat of the counter-revolution in Hungary, the counter-revolutionaries have taken up a new

weapon—slander. They are trying to undermine the friendship between the Soviet Union and Hungary, spreading rumours. . . .

"On November 12, so the slanderers allege, Soviet troops seized young people and wounded rebels in hospitals and deported them to the Soviet Union. Here everyone knows that this is absurd slander and the counter-revolutionaries are not able and will not be able to substantiate these fabrications by a single concrete instance. The purpose of this silly lie and slander is not to tell the truth to the general public, but an attempt to conceal the defeat of reaction."

"The population of Budapest want peace and tranquillity, they want to live in security and do not want a return to the time when neither their lives nor their property were safeguarded, a time when the counter-revolutionaries trampled under foot the elementary principles of personal freedom."

"There have been enough lies. Now we want to be given an opportunity to live in peace so that we can carry out our task within a short space of time and restore Budapest. We ask for this support, for the ending of this clumsy slander. Let them not try to hinder the peaceful development of our people who have suffered much; let them not slander the country which is giving us every assistance—the Soviet Union."

It is signed: "K. Pongracz, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Budapest City Council."

Such are the facts and they speak eloquently against Mr. Lodge. By presenting unverified rumours as authentic information, he, as you see, found himself in a position which should not have been permitted in such a distinguished organisation as the United Nations.

The United States delegate then claimed that the hundreds of millions of dollars appropriated by the American Congress under the so-called Mutual Security Act are being used to fill the stomachs of East European citizens with food. But facts are stubborn things, and they show that in reality the resources appropriated under this Act are being used, not for the benefit of people, but for quite other, sinister purposes directed against their interests.

Here is a report by eye-witnesses—the Soviet journalists V. Shchegolev and V. Makoveyev—who visited one of the arms dumps confiscated from the counter-revolutionaries:

"We were struck by the enormous quantity of instruments of death of various kinds mustered against the Hungarian patriots, communists, progressive workers, activists of People's Hungary. In a large and spacious warehouse there lay huge piles of thousands of rifles, carbines, sub-machine guns, machine-guns, pistols and revolvers of most varied types and makes. We were shown there American self-loading carbines and German 'MG-34' and 'MG-42' light machine-guns and long barrelled parabellums and American Colts, Austrian Hasslers, Belgian Brownings, German Walters. All these weapons had been smuggled into Hungary from abroad. These machine-guns and rifles, sub-machine guns and pistols were used by the brutalised bandits to shoot the peaceful citizens of Hungarian towns and villages, to murder defenceless women and children. They used these weapons in order to loot shops, to raid clinics and hospitals, to commit their sinister acts of banditry."

Finally, Mr. Lodge cannot fail to know that here, in New York, there exists an emergency committee to supply arms to Hungary which even took the liberty of holding a public meeting on Sunday, November 11, in the premises of Chateau Gardens. This committee has launched an active campaign in order to ensure, as its resolution says, "the immediate delivery of weapons of all kinds by all possible ways"* to the Hungarian rebels.

In an effort to justify the American law on appropriations for subversive activity, a law without parallel in the history of the various states, Mr. Lodge vainly disturbed the shade of the great Abraham Lincoln. It is well known that Lincoln fought against slave-owners, expressing the progressive trends of his time. To judge by what we have heard from this rostrum, Mr. Lodge and those who are of the same mind as he is are coming out as the champions of the most reactionary forces of Hungary and not of Hungary alone, which are hostile to the people's interests and which have outlived their time.

Is it not being too bold to invoke the truly noble tradition of American democracy in order to protect the most frenzied reaction, and to refer to the great name of Lincoln in order to justify appropriations for subversive activities?

But if Mr. Lodge still tried to speak of his adherence to democracy, his supporter on the Hungarian problem, the Spanish

* Retranslated from the Russian.

Foreign Minister, dropped this disguise. And this is no accident. Señor Artajo does not find it necessary to conceal his old sympathies that are well known to everyone. Here he has compared the Budapest of 1956 with the Madrid of 1936. That is really an instructive comparison, because in Budapest, as was the case in Madrid, the healthy forces of the people, the forces of progress, were ranged against the dark forces of fascism. But whereas in Madrid the fascists, aided by Hitler and Mussolini, gained victory and plunged the people into an abyss of misery and lawlessness, in Budapest they have been smashed. And it is evidently this circumstance which now makes the Spanish delegate so sad.

Señor Artajo is ready to go to still greater lengths than the Cuban delegation. He attempts to issue threats, declaring that the advocates of extreme measures in the United Nations Organisation can "count on the firmness and determination of the Spanish government." To judge by this bellicose tone, some people in Madrid are evidently beginning to forget the gruesome experience of the Blue Division.

Statements of this kind should, it would seem, put many people on their guard, especially representatives of those countries which not so long ago drank the bitter cup of grave trials during the Second World War. The representative of Denmark recalled here the burden of the Hitler occupation which his country had experienced. M. Pineau spoke of the horrors of Buchenwald, but who was it, if not the Soviet army—which they are both trying to vilify—that liberated a part of Danish territory at the cost of its own blood? Who, if not the Soviet Army, made a decisive contribution to the cause of delivering mankind from the Majdaneks, Oswiecims and Buchenwalds?

M. Pineau and M. Spaak, in their first statements, and certain others stress that they are socialists. But how do their socialist convictions accord with the fact that they, together with Señor Artajo, are becoming advocates of the fascist plotters in Hungary? Why did they not find a single word to condemn the horrible atrocities committed by the counter-revolutionary rebels in Budapest and other Hungarian towns? It is a fact that these atrocities are recorded in hundreds of photographs in magazines and newspapers of which they can avail themselves!

Mr. Martino has been making out a case here that is somewhat unusual from the point of view of law. He tried to persuade us that the question of the ideology of the rebels and of their

intentions was of no importance. In this way he gives, in advance, absolution of their sins to those who took part in this putsch against the people—a putsch which threatened to plunge Hungary into the chaos of fascist terror and lawlessness. The victims of the fascist terror and the families of thousands of people who perished at the hands of those who took part in the counter-revolutionary putsch, will never agree with such an approach.

Gentlemen, the far-reaching schemes of the organisers of the fascist putsch in Hungary proved to be without a basis. The Hungarian people are emerging with credit from their trials and are restoring normal life. International reaction failed to create a breach in the system of socialist states and there is nothing for us to do except to shrug our shoulders when we hear Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and certain other speakers venturing to express opinions, which sound so unexpected coming from their lips, to the effect that the Hungarian events might undermine the international labour movement. Mr. Lloyd need not worry about that. The attacks of reaction which are being intensified, the frantic campaign now being waged all over the world by the press of the capitalist monopolies against the Communist Parties, do nothing except to help to rally and strengthen the international labour movement, to steel it.

In this way, the debates on the Hungarian developments that have been imposed on the Assembly for the purpose of carrying out a large-scale political operation against the countries of the socialist camp, have failed to yield the results on which their organisers counted. They have only helped to expose the plans for reviving the "cold war."

But this is only one aspect of the matter. The second aspect is that these attempts to take advantage of the debates for purposes of unseemly political speculation seriously undermine the prestige of the United Nations Organisation. Do those who staged these debates realise where they are heading? An international organisation uniting scores of countries of the world cannot take the course of setting one group of states against another group, the course of fomenting disputes based upon ideological differences.

The Soviet delegation has believed, and continues to believe that the resolution submitted by the Cuban delegation is essentially provocative and must be rejected, as also are the amendments to it, since they change nothing in the essence of it. Therefore we shall vote against this resolution.

For some days in this hall of the United Nations Organisation

and in the whole capitalist press, passions have been deliberately aroused over the so-called "Hungarian problem." It is clear, without any comment, that all this is doing no good to Hungary. The Hungarian people now need one thing only—to be given the opportunity to bring life back to normal in the towns and villages, to consolidate order and tranquillity throughout the country, and they need an end to be put to that unworthy baiting of socialist Hungary by sinister reactionary forces.

Is it not clear that it is not merely by chance that unbridled anti-communist and anti-Soviet hysteria is being fomented? From morning until late at night, debates, which are deliberately being made more heated, either on the basis of the mythical "deportation" of Hungarians or on the basis of genocide, are going on in the United Nations Organisation; and behind this smoke-screen the forces of imperialist aggression are hatching new and dangerous plans about which the representative of the Syrian Republic, Mr. Zein Eddin, has just told us from this rostrum.

He has declared here that within the past few days an intensive concentration of aggressor troops has been taking place on the Israeli-Syrian and the Israeli-Jordan frontiers. Foreign aircraft are busy flying in the Syrian skies. These facts are a grim warning which the United Nations Organisation cannot overlook.

Is it not high time for the United Nations Organisation to take up the truly important and truly urgent problems of the present international situation and, in the first place, the problems connected with the aggression by Britain, France and Israel against Egypt? It is a fact that the aggressors' troops are still on Egyptian territory. And now we hear in this Assembly about even more alarming facts showing that the dark forces of imperialist aggression are preparing military actions against other countries of the Arab world. It is these problems that call for immediate consideration by the United Nations Organisation.

DECLARATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF U.S.S.R.

On the Foundations for the Development and Further Strengthening of Friendship and Co- operation between the Soviet Union and other Socialist States—October 30, 1956

THE policy of peaceful co-existence, friendship and co-operation among all states has been and remains the immutable foundation of the foreign relations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

This policy finds its most profound and consistent expression in the mutual relations between the socialist countries. Being united by the common ideals of building a socialist society and by the principles of proletarian internationalism, the countries of the great community of socialist nations can build their mutual relations only on the principles of complete equality, respect for each other's territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Far from excluding, on the contrary, this presupposes close fraternal co-operation and mutual assistance among the countries of the socialist community in the economic, political and cultural spheres.

It was on this basis that the system of people's democracy in a number of countries of Europe and Asia was formed, gained in strength and displayed its great viability after the Second World War and the routing of fascism.

The process of building up the new system and the deep-going revolutionary transformations in social relations met with many difficulties, unsolved problems and direct mistakes, including those in the mutual relations among socialist countries—violations and mistakes which belittled the principle of equal rights in the relations among the socialist states.

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet

Union denounced these violations and mistakes with the utmost determination and set the task of consistent application by the Soviet Union in its mutual relations with the other socialist countries of the Leninist principles of equal rights of the peoples. It proclaimed the necessity of taking fully into account the historical past and the distinctive features of each country that has embarked upon the road of building a new life.

The Soviet government is consistently putting into effect these historic decisions of the 20th Congress which create conditions for the further strengthening of friendship and co-operation among the socialist countries on the immutable basis of respecting the full sovereignty of each socialist state.

Recent events have shown that it has become necessary to issue an appropriate statement on the Soviet Union's position with regard to the mutual relations between the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, primarily in the economic and military spheres.

The Soviet government is ready to discuss jointly with the governments of other socialist states measures such as would ensure the further development and strengthening of the economic ties between the socialist countries so as to remove any possibility of violation of the principle of national sovereignty, mutual benefit and equality in economic relations.

This principle must also be applied to the advisers. It is known that in the first period when the new social system was taking shape, the Soviet Union, at the request of the governments of the people's democracies, sent to those countries a certain number of its specialists—engineers, agronomists, scientific workers and military advisers. Recently the Soviet government has more than once raised with the socialist states the question of recalling its advisers.

In view of the fact that skilled national cadres in all spheres of economic and military development have been trained in the people's democracies at the present time, the Soviet government regards it as urgent to examine jointly with the other socialist states the question of the desirability of the further stay of Soviet advisers in those countries.

In military affairs an important foundation for the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and the people's democracies is the Warsaw Treaty, under which the parties to the treaty undertook appropriate political and military commitments, including the commitment to adopt "agreed measures necessary

to strengthen their defensive power in order to protect the peaceful labour of their peoples, guarantee the inviolability of their frontiers and territories and provide defence against possible aggression."

It is common knowledge that Soviet units are stationed in the Hungarian and Rumanian Republics under the Warsaw Treaty and in conformity with government agreements. Soviet military units are stationed in the Polish Republic on the basis of the Potsdam four-power agreement and the Warsaw Treaty. There are no Soviet military units in the other people's democracies.

With the aim of safeguarding the mutual security of the socialist countries the Soviet government is ready to examine with the other socialist countries that are parties to the Warsaw Treaty the question of the Soviet forces stationed in those countries. In so doing, the Soviet government bases itself on the universal principle that the stationing of forces of any state that is party to the Warsaw Treaty on the territory of another state, party to the Warsaw Treaty, is being done on the basis of agreement between all the parties to the treaty and only with the consent of the state on whose territory and at whose request those forces have been so stationed or are to be so stationed.

The Soviet government considers it necessary to make a statement in connection with the events in Hungary. Developments have shown that the working people of Hungary, which has made great progress on the basis of the people's democratic system, are justly raising the question of the need for the elimination of serious short-comings in the sphere of economic development, for a further improvement in the material well-being of the population, and for a struggle against bureaucratic distortions in the machinery of government. To this just and progressive movement of the working people, however, there soon adhered forces of black reaction and counter-revolution which are trying to exploit the dissatisfaction of a section of the working people in order to undermine the foundations of the people's democratic system in Hungary and to restore there the old régime of landlords and capitalists.

The Soviet government, like the whole Soviet people, deeply deplores the fact that developments in Hungary have led to bloodshed.

At the request of the Hungarian people's government the Soviet government agreed to the entry into Budapest of Soviet

military units in order to help the Hungarian People's Army and the Hungarian authorities to restore order in the city.

Bearing in mind that the further stationing of Soviet military units in Hungary may provide a pretext for making the situation more tense, the Soviet government has instructed its military command to withdraw the Soviet military units from the city of Budapest as soon as the Hungarian government finds it necessary.

At the same time, the Soviet government is ready to enter into appropriate talks with the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and the other parties to the Warsaw Treaty on the question of the stationing of Soviet forces in Hungary.

The defence of the socialist gains of People's Democratic Hungary is today the chief and sacred obligation of the workers, peasants and intellectuals, of all Hungarian working people.

The Soviet government expresses confidence that the peoples of the socialist countries will not allow external and internal reactionary forces to shake the foundations of the people's democratic system, won and reinforced by the selfless struggle and labour of the workers, peasants and intellectuals of each country. They will do their utmost, after removing all obstacles standing in the way of the further strengthening of the democratic foundations, independence and sovereignty of their countries, to develop further the socialist foundations of each country, its economy, and its culture for the sake of the steady advance of the material well-being and cultural standards of all the working people, and they will strengthen the fraternal unity and mutual assistance among the socialist countries for the consolidation of the great cause of peace and socialism.

APPEAL FOR AID FROM THE HUNGARIAN GOVERNMENT

Broadcast Appeal by Janos Kadar

November 5, 1956

On November 5, the Hungarian government radio broadcast an appeal from Janos Kadar, Prime Minister of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, to the governments of fraternal socialist states. On the same day N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, replied to this appeal. Below we publish the text of the appeal and N. A. Bulganin's reply:

COMRADES! Our motherland and our people have experienced very grave events. At the present time we are inflicting the final blows on the counter-revolutionary forces which aimed at destroying our people's democratic system, our socialist gains.

At present our main task is to restore normal peaceful life and to heal the wounds inflicted on us. In order that this may be achieved as soon as possible, we request you to render us fraternal assistance. What we especially need now is food, building materials and medical supplies.

We are convinced that our requests will be complied with by all the fraternal countries and peoples striving for common ideals, for socialism.

Janos Kadar

Prime Minister of the Hungarian Revolutionary
Workers' and Peasants' Government

Budapest, November 5, 1956

REPLY FROM N. A. BULGANIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

November 5, 1956

To Janos Kadar, Prime Minister of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

DEAR COMRADE PRIME MINISTER,

The Soviet government has considered your appeal and has taken a decision to render the working people of Hungary free fraternal assistance and urgently to ship the following goods to Hungary:

Grain and flour, 50,000 tons; meat, 3,000 tons; butter, 2,000 tons; condensed milk, three million tins; sugar, 5,000 tons; cement, 10,000 tons; sawn timber, 10,000 cubic metres;* round timber, 5,000 cubic metres; window glass, 300,000 square metres;† roofing iron, 1,000 tons; rolled ferrous metals, 3,000 tons.

Furthermore, in order to ensure the uninterrupted work of industry and other branches of Hungary's national economy, the Soviet government has instructed the Ministry of Foreign Trade to send to the Hungarian People's Republic ahead of schedule materials, raw materials, fuel and other goods to be delivered, in accordance with agreements, in 1956, and also commodities which were to be delivered during the first quarter of 1957 under the trade agreement for 1957.

The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Health has also been instructed to send urgently to the Hungarian People's Republic, free of charge, the necessary medical supplies for the population.

With comradely greetings,

N. Bulganin

Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers
Moscow, Kremlin. November 5, 1956

* One cubic metre equals 1.3 cubic yard approx.

† One square metre equals 10.76 square feet approx.

AUSTRIAN AND SOVIET TRADE UNIONS EXCHANGE LETTERS

In a letter to the Soviet T.U.C.—the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions—the Federation of Austrian Trade Unions wrote:

AUSTRIAN factory and office workers, irrespective of what party they belong to, declare their fidelity to the independence, freedom and neutrality of Austria and know how to prize this. Nor have they forgotten that the Soviet Union played an outstanding part in the signing, last year, of the Austrian State Treaty which gave Austria her freedom.

In Austria herself the trade unions have made an essential contribution to the restoration of freedom and independence. In all countries with strong trade union organisations, these organisations enjoy great authority; this is especially true of the Soviet Union.

Therefore, on behalf of Austrian factory and office workers, we appeal to you to intercede as soon and as vigorously as possible with your government so that the troops of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics may hold aloof from the Hungarian events and the bloodshed in Hungary may be stopped.

We are of the opinion that you, dear comrades, share with us the desire to ensure world peace. We are sure that if the Hungarian people are given the opportunity of deciding their fate by themselves, a valuable contribution will thereby be made to the preservation of world peace and the improvement of relations among nations.

The A.U.C.C.T.U., in its reply, declared:

THE A.U.C.C.T.U. has received your letter stating your concern at the events in Hungary.

The A.U.C.C.T.U. would like to state the Soviet trade unions' attitude on this subject.

Basic changes are known to have taken place in Hungary in

the years since the end of the Second World War. A system of people's democracy was established there and impressive successes were achieved in building socialism.

Along with this, the development of the new form of government involved not a few difficulties, unsolved problems and downright mistakes made by Hungary's former leadership. The extremely slow, hesitant and belated action in rectifying those mistakes produced discontent on a mass scale. The working people of Hungary were justified in calling for the removal of shortcomings in the field of economic development, for the raising of the material standards of the population and for the elimination of bureaucratic unwieldiness in the machinery of government.

Yet this movement for overcoming the existing shortcomings was from the very outset joined by the forces of reaction and counter-revolution which had for a long time been hard at work underground preparing to abolish the system of people's democracy in Hungary, to overthrow the rule of the workers and peasants, to restore landlordism and capitalism, and to bring fascism back to life.

The direct part played in the Hungarian events by certain elements of international imperialist reaction and of the Horthy fascist organisations abroad, cannot escape one's notice. These organisations, which brought together all the Horthy officers and other enemies of the Hungarian people who had been banished by the Hungarian people, were the striking force in staging the counter-revolutionary outrage in Hungary. These enemies of Hungary had not only been able to live a secure life in certain western countries and even engage in subversive activities against the Hungarian People's Republic for a number of years, but were also equipped by certain quarters with arms and other military material for preparing armed uprisings in Hungary. They had transport facilities placed at their disposal with which to bring armed gangs into that country.

The reactionary forces launched a reign of bloody terror in the country, killed Hungarian patriots wholesale, destroyed industrial establishments, offices and national cultural monuments, and looted public and private property. This produced chaos and put the Hungarian people in an extremely precarious position. The counter-revolutionary uprising of the reactionary forces in Hungary, which was aimed against the vital interests of the Hungarian people and meant the danger of a fascist

régime being implanted in Hungary, was a grave threat to peace and security in Europe.

The A.U.C.C.T.U. brings to your notice the fact that now that the open armed attack of the Horthy fascist elements in Hungary has been repelled, reactionary imperialist circles in the United States are attempting to back up the enemies of the Hungarian people, to enable them to persist in their armed resistance and hold up in this way the restoration of law and order in Hungary.

It would be of great importance in these circumstances for the trade unions of all countries to oppose with determination the provocative campaign which is being carried on by the reactionary circles in western countries with a view to giving moral and political support to elements hostile to the people of Hungary.

We hope that the working people of Austria will speak up against support for the Horthy fascist elements in Hungary, because the Austrian people, who are neighbours of the Hungarian People's Republic, have learned from their own bitter experience, just as the people of Hungary have, the meaning of fascist domination. The steps which were taken to put down the armed uprising of the counter-revolutionary forces, to prevent the restoration of a bourgeois and landlord system and the establishment of a fascist dictatorship in Hungary, to prevent that country from becoming a breeding-ground of danger to peace and security in Europe, were not only in accordance with the interests of the Hungarian people but also with the interests of the working people of all countries.

You, dear comrades, know that the Soviet forces stationed in Hungary came to the assistance of the revolutionary forces of the nation at the Hungarian government's request, in order to protect the vital interests of the Hungarian people and safeguard peace and security in Europe.

They could not have kept "aloof from the events," as you say, because this would not only have resulted in still greater bloodshed but would also have done irreparable harm to the cause of labour as a whole.

The A.U.C.C.T.U. wishes to draw your attention to the fact that the Soviet people place the greatest confidence in their army and know that this army of liberation has never acted in defence of an unjust cause. The Austrian people remember, no

doubt, the role this army played in liberating their country from fascist enslavement.

The Soviet trade unions, like all our people, welcome the recognition in your letter of the outstanding role which the Soviet Union has played in ensuring Austria's national independence.

Taking this opportunity to greet the Austrian working people through you, the A.U.C.C.T.U. expresses confidence that the Soviet trade unions will be supported by the Federation of Austrian Trade Unions and by the Austrian working people as a whole in their efforts to strengthen peace in Europe and in the rest of the world.

GORKY—GREENWICH LETTERS ON HUNGARY AND EGYPT

A letter from the Greenwich Trades Council regarding the events in Hungary and Egypt has been published in the Soviet trade union paper "Trud" and the "Gorky Pravda" along with a reply from the Gorky region trade unionists who recently exchanged delegations with Greenwich.

"Trud" has a very large circulation, mainly among industrial workers. It is the national organ of the trade union movement.

Here is the letter from the Greenwich Trades Council, which was sent to Yakov A. Malik, Soviet Ambassador to Britain, and the reply, which reveal the warm friendship and efforts to reach understanding between the two towns.

Your Excellency,

WE have in the past played a very important part and are still prepared to play a part towards peace, trade and better understanding between the British and Soviet peoples.

Our recent delegation to Gorky and other parts of the Soviet Union brought back with it the sincere desire of the Soviet people for peaceful and friendly relations between all peoples.

The recent return delegation from Gorky to Greenwich endorsed this.

Even in view of the grave and disturbing position in Hungary and Egypt, we have no reason to doubt our delegation.

The tragic situation that has arisen in Hungary has aroused considerable feelings amongst many honest and sincere British people. These feelings are being deliberately exploited by those whose interests are opposed to peaceful and friendly understanding between peoples of the East and West and whose interests are opposed to those of all working people like ourselves.

The situation in Hungary is by no means clear but to us one thing seems apparent.

Deliberate attempts are being made by people opposed to the interests of world peace and those of all working people, to

exploit serious weaknesses within the Hungarian People's Republic to secure the establishment of a form of government whose interests would oppose those of the Hungarian working people and the Hungarian nation.

As a responsible organisation in Greenwich, we cannot remain aloof from our responsibilities in this direction that under no circumstances could we support any system in Hungary which would oppose the interests of the Hungarian people, especially those of working people.

We recognise that such a government would not only create dangers to the Soviet people but would constitute a threat to world peace. At the same time we do not underestimate the danger to world peace that has been created both by our own government in co-operation with that of the French by their action in Egypt.

Until the position has been clarified and we are in possession of all facts regarding Hungary, we reserve the right to withhold our judgment upon the action of Soviet troops in Hungary and disassociate ourselves with those who are fanning anti-Soviet feelings which we recognise as a very grave threat to world peace.

We are of the opinion that the future peace of the world and the position of future Anglo-Soviet relations today calls for even greater efforts on *both sides* and we pledge ourselves to work for this end.

As Ambassador of the Soviet people in Britain will you please convey, with expedition, this letter to our friends of the Gorky Area Trades Council who, no doubt, like ourselves are equally and anxiously concerned with the future of world peace and the future of Anglo-Soviet relations.

I am,

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Wellard, Secretary,
on behalf of the Greenwich Trades Council.

Letter to Greenwich from Gorky Trades Council

The following is the text of the letter to the Greenwich Trades Council from the Gorky Regional Trades Council, as published in the newspaper "Trud" on November 27:

It was with great interest and a feeling of sincere friendship that we read the letter from your trades council to the Soviet Ambassador in London. Your letter was carried in full in the *Gorky Pravda*, a newspaper published in our region, and in the central newspaper *Trud* ("Labour"), copies of which you will find enclosed.

In these days of hard trials, when the threat of a third war is looming large on the world's horizon, we have a special reason for appreciating your friendly feelings and your anxiety for the fate of world peace and the future of British-Soviet relations.

We, like all Soviet people, firmly stand for the maintenance of world peace and the furtherance of friendship among nations, and we are unanimous in supporting the steps taken by our government with the aim of preventing anyone from fanning the flames of war and also in order to ease international tension and to settle in a peaceful way all questions that are in dispute.

We also take the attitude that every nation should be allowed to live as it wants to, that no one from outside should impose his will on it, and that friendly diplomatic and economic relations should be established between all countries on the basis of equality, independence, mutual benefit, respect and sovereignty.

There are, however, forces in the world that are seeking to achieve just the opposite. These forces are acting in complete defiance of the interests of the masses of the people and are increasing the danger of a third world war being unleashed.

It is these forces that have staged unprovoked aggression against Egypt. It is these forces that are seeking to sabotage the United Nations decisions calling for an immediate withdrawal of British, French and Israeli troops from Egyptian territory.

The aggressive forces, with war as their goal, have also made themselves felt in the recent developments in Hungary.

Now that the world Press has published sufficient evidence of how foreign reactionary forces prepared a putsch in Hungary, of unheard-of outrages and carnage of which Hungarian workers—active trade unionists, communists, and champions of peace—were the victims, it is becoming increasingly clear to all decent

people that this putsch was directed against the interests of the Hungarian people and also against the interests of the working people of other countries.

At the request of the Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, the Soviet Army held out a helping hand to the working people of Hungary by defending them against terror and routing the gangs which were carrying out the putsch.

Having no claims on the integrity and sovereignty of Hungary, our government, on October 30, expressed its readiness to begin negotiations with the government of the Hungarian People's Republic and other signatories to the Warsaw Treaty concerning the presence of Soviet troops on Hungarian territory.

Acting on behalf of the Greenwich Labour Party executive, W. Albrighton, Bernard Dix, Ann Essex and R. Sulman asked us, on November 9, to insist on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary for the sake of the friendship between the towns of Gorky and Greenwich.

Their request reached us at a time when the rebels had already brutally killed thousands of Hungarian patriots, and the Hungarian workers and peasants supported by the Soviet army had themselves put an end to the outrages committed by the fascist murderers.

It is pertinent to raise the following question here: What would have happened if the Soviet troops had left Hungary at that time?

Or again: Would it have been in the interests of the friendship between Greenwich and Gorky to have let counter-revolutionary reaction rage again?

No, it would not. Anger and indignation fill the hearts of all decent people when they see the results of the brutal atrocities perpetrated by the fascist gangs.

We fully subscribe to the statement made by the Greenwich Trades Council, who wrote in their letter that under no circumstances were they prepared to support a system in Hungary which would oppose the interests of the Hungarian people, especially those of the working people.

We greatly value the friendship between Greenwich and Gorky.

We are for closer friendship between our two towns, between the Soviet and British peoples. We are for friendly relations between our two countries. That is what we need in the interests

of our two peoples, in the interests of world peace and of all the nations of the world.

We are confident that our common aspirations and active work for peace will achieve success in improving British-Soviet relations.

On behalf of the Gorky Regional Trades Council:

N. F. Kochetkov, Chairman.

N. K. Bochkarev, Secretary.

A. M. Anikina, Head of the Organisational Department.

A. P. Zagorny, Member of the Trades Council's Executive, Blacksmith at the Molotov Motor Works in Gorky.

APPENDIX

FOR THE FURTHER RALLYING OF THE FORCES OF SOCIALISM ON THE BASIS OF MARXIST-LENINIST PRINCIPLES

"Pravda"—November 23, 1956

Under the heading "For the Further Rallying of the Forces of Socialism on the Basis of Marxist-Leninist Principles," "Pravda" on November 23 published an editorial article giving a detailed analysis of the events in Hungary and discussing the causes which aroused the dissatisfaction of the Hungarian people. It declared:

THE events that have taken place in Hungary where the counter-revolution has succeeded in becoming active and going into the attack against socialist gains, against the people's democratic system, have evoked a deep response in the hearts and minds of all people who cherish the interests of socialism.

In all the countries of the socialist camp, the intrigues of reaction have been condemned unanimously. The Press of the Chinese Communist Party carried articles imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism, which have attracted universal attention for the depth of their Marxist-Leninist analysis of the Hungarian events.

Pronouncements by the leaders of the Communist Parties of France and Italy, and other countries, have shown the unity of views in the ranks of the world communist movement on the question of events in Hungary.

The Communist Parties of the capitalist countries are courageously fighting reaction on the offensive.

The course of events in Hungary shows that, for the purposes of their anti-popular objects, reaction tried to use the accumulated dissatisfaction of the working people, who justly demanded improved leadership of the country, and better living standards for the population.

There can be no doubt that part of the blame for the Hungarian events lies at the door of the previous state and party leadership of Hungary, headed by Rakosi and Gero, who made serious mistakes in solving the tasks of socialist construction, both on general political questions and in the field of economic policy and cultural construction.

The leadership of the party, headed by M. Rakosi and E. Gero, lost contact with the rank and file of the party, with the people, did not know the mood of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia.

Flagrant violations of the law were permitted (the case of Rajk, and a number of other cases in which many honest party and government workers suffered for nothing).

In the economic field serious miscalculations were made; a considerable part of the funds were used for the construction of big new enterprises, not within the capacity of such a small country as Hungary.

The slogan of accelerated rates of industrialisation, which was correct under the conditions in the U.S.S.R., was mechanically transferred to Hungary, according to pattern, without the appropriate economic basis, and large enterprises were built without an adequate supply of raw materials.

The former party and government leadership in Hungary mechanically copied the experience of the Soviet Union in the field of industrialisation, regardless of the fact that the leaders of the Hungarian Working People's Party were frequently given comradely advice not to do so.

The basis should have been the concrete conditions in Hungary, and account ought to have been taken of the fact that not every country within the framework of its state should create all branches of industry, for it has the possibility of relying on the entire collective of the socialist countries.

More should have been spent on developing agriculture and increasing the production of consumer goods, which would have made it possible steadily to raise the living standards of the population.

Here the proportions were out of balance.

The path taken by the Soviet Union in building its powerful heavy industry in a short period of time was conditioned by the fact that at that time the U.S.S.R. was the only socialist country, in a capitalist environment. Our people had to make great sacrifices and mobilise their means to develop heavy industry as

the most important guarantee of the country's independence and the foundations for the development of her economy.

The entire course of history has confirmed the correctness of this path. Had this not been done the Soviet Union would not have been able to stand up in the war against Hitler Germany and to defeat fascism.

In Hungary, mistakes were also made in the field of party building, which resulted in weakening the party. The Hungarian Party of Working People had a membership of over 900,000, with the population of the country numbering nine million. The doors were opened in the party to all who wished, and that is why the most varied people became members.

There were workers, because it was their party, because having created that party, and having strengthened it, only they could preserve its gains, strengthen and develop them. But there also streamed into the ranks of the Working People's Party petty-bourgeois nationalist elements, people of alien views, careerists, who wanted to use the party for their own ends.

The Party leadership did not pay enough attention to selecting for the party the very best, most advanced forces of the people, did not do enough to train the cadres and all the members of the party in the Marxist-Leninist spirit, in the spirit of international working class solidarity. And this is why, when difficulties arose, the party was unable to master the difficult situation in the country, was unable to rouse the advanced forces of the people to the struggle against reaction, and furthermore, the party itself proved disorganised.

The leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party did not take sufficient account of the country's national characteristics. Without a doubt, in the ten years of development of the people's democratic regime there were greater opportunities than had been taken for training and promoting people from the main national cadres of the Hungarian republic to the leadership of the party and the government.

Events were allowed to take place which offended the national pride of the Hungarian people. For instance, they began to introduce a military uniform which had to resemble the uniform adopted in the Soviet Union. Every people has traditions and national customs that should be respected.

You can't fit everyone into the same pattern. Since when has the same haircut in the army or the same method of assessing

progress in schools been an indication of unity and international solidarity in socialist countries?

Needless to say, these are ideas totally unnecessary and harmful, which to some extent offended national feeling.

After the 20th Congress of the Communist Party, Rakosi was unable and unwilling to guide the re-organisation of the entire work and, on the contrary, in spite of the opinion of the majority of party activists, declared that the policy of the leadership of the Hungarian Working People's Party had been absolutely right and there was nothing to correct in it. This caused considerable dissatisfaction in the party. The party leadership, lacking a clearcut political line, did nothing to correct previous mistakes decisively and speedily. It should be added that for a number of months open propaganda against the party and the government had been conducted in Hungary in the Press, among a section of the writers, students, etc. In this propaganda, in addition to correct criticism of the leadership, there began to appear increasing nationalistic, chauvinist tendencies, calls for a return to bourgeois democracy, anti-socialist sentiments which were frequently cloaked by contrasting the "Yugoslav road to socialism" with the experience of the whole of the socialist camp, including the experience of the U.S.S.R.

The Rakosi-Gero leadership did not offer a rebuff to these negative tendencies and failed to rely on the party organisations among the workers, in which healthy internationalist sentiments still prevailed at that time. The leadership of the party and the organs of state power displayed a lack of vigilance and failed to see either the growth of justified dissatisfaction among the people or the work of intrigue that was going on among the counter-revolutionary elements on an ever-widening scale.

In this situation the dissatisfaction became increasingly acute and led to demonstrations in the streets of Budapest on October 23.

In these demonstrations there took part a section of the workers, who marched with good intentions, trying to express their justifiable dissatisfaction caused by the mistakes of the previous leadership. But this spontaneous dissatisfaction was seized upon by the counter-revolutionary forces.

It has now already been definitely established that the counter-revolutionary elements had been organised beforehand; they had their own military headquarters; they had trained forces in position for the uprising, had appointed people who were to seize

ammunition stores, had determined the objectives to be attacked and had mobilised transport to carry weapons to particular points for distribution. Precisely because of this, there took place the bloody events in Budapest, called forth by the provocative actions of the Horthy fascist bands.

Western bourgeois newspapers have said quite openly that the Hungarian events had been long and carefully prepared for by the reaction both inside and outside the country and that from the very outset the experienced hand of conspirators was to be felt in everything. Allan Dulles, head of the American intelligence service, has declared outright that they knew in advance about the the Hungarian events. The correspondent of the West German newspaper *Welt am Sonntag*, writing about one of the rebels, says: "The first thing I noticed about him was that he was wearing the German Order of the Iron Cross." The newspaper *France-Soir* declares that American radio stations broadcasting "calls to the rebels, did great harm in Hungary." The same newspaper admits that a leading part in the Hungarian events was played by "the most reactionary and openly fascist elements."

With the object of suppressing these elements who were hostile to the people, and of establishing order as quickly as possible in Budapest, the Hungarian government appealed to the government of the U.S.S.R., asking for the assistance of Soviet military units stationed in Hungary under the Warsaw Treaty. The introduction of Soviet troops and their participation in the restoration of order fettered the actions of reaction and compelled it to retreat.

However, no sooner had the Soviet government, at the request of Imre Nagy's government, given instructions for the withdrawal of its troops from Budapest, than the counter-revolutionary forces launched bitter and violent persecution of communists, civic and political leaders, supporters of the people's democratic system.

Numerous facts show that Imre Nagy was pursuing a dual policy: on the one hand he declared that the introduction of Soviet troops was necessary in order to suppress the counter-revolutionary forces, and on the other hand he encouraged the active resistance of the counter-revolutionary elements and maintained contact with them.

Not meeting with any decisive rebuff on the part of the Imre Nagy government the counter-revolutionary forces seized arms

and formed armed gangs which received aid from imperialist states, and dictated their conditions to the Imre Nagy government. That government in actual fact had no power in Hungary; it met in the Parliament building and communicated with the population via the microphone. And at that time the Horthy fascist bands were murdering whomsoever they wished, and were arresting progressive leaders in the streets, hanging and beheading them.

The composition of the Imre Nagy government changed several times in seven or eight days, and each time it moved further to the right. The Imre Nagy government became a screen for the work of the counter-revolutionary forces. The conspiratorial military centre exerted increasing pressure on it.

In these circumstances the best people in the Imre Nagy government such as, for instance, Comrades Janos Kadar, Ferenc Muennich and Imre Horvath, broke with that government.

The newly organised Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government of Janos Kadar decided to put a stop to the bloodshed and repulse the fascist forces, and it called on the Soviet Union for assistance.

Under these conditions the decision of the Soviet government to come to the aid of the revolutionary forces in Hungary was the only correct one. The socialist state could not remain an indifferent onlooker in face of the bloody violence of fascist reaction in people's democratic Hungary. When everything in Hungary has calmed down and when life has returned to normal, the Hungarian working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia will, undoubtedly, have a better understanding of our actions and assess them correctly. We regard our assistance to the Hungarian working class in the struggle against the machinations of the counter-revolution as being the fulfilment of our international duty. In this struggle we have suffered casualties with the sole object of barring the road to fascism in Hungary, of preserving the socialist gains of the Hungarian working class and the working people, so that they may be able to develop their gains further, live their own life, and build their own independent, sovereign socialist state.

We shall continue to be friends with the working people of Hungary in the struggle for our common cause, for the victory of socialism, for the building of a new society on a new foundation, for the strengthening of peace. Our party regards it as its

duty to support the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party in implementing the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. When normal order has been restored in Hungary and her government considers that the further stay of the Soviet troops is not required, the Soviet Union, for its part, will in no event insist that its troops should remain there.

* * *

Among the comments made on the events in Hungary in foreign countries, the recent speech by Comrade Tito in the town of Pula attracts attention. It deals extensively with the events in Hungary, and points out correctly that the counter-revolutionary elements played a provocative role in these events. "These reactionary forces," said Tito, "very soon, within two or three days, revealed their true colours. In the conditions of country-wide indignation against all that had been done in the past, the then leadership showed no desire to remove the elements who were arousing indignation in the Hungarian people, showed no desire to travel the real Hungarian road of developing socialism with all its internal, specific features. In view of this, events soon took a different course, and the reaction began to become increasingly dominant."

Comrade Tito gave a sharp characterisation of the Imre Nagy government:

"The Nagy government did nothing to prevent this. It continually shed tears over the radio and called for help instead of fighting against this and showing resolution, preventing the annihilation of communists and progressive people. . . .

"If the Nagy government had been more energetic, if it had not hesitated, veering now this way and now that, if it had resolutely stood out against anarchy and the murder of communists by reactionary elements, if it had given a decisive rebuff to reaction, and so on, it is possible that matters might have followed a correct course and, perhaps, not gone as far as the intervention of Soviet troops.

"But what did Nagy do? He called the people to arms against the Soviet Army and appealed to the western countries to intervene."

The events in Hungary, as Tito pointed out, assumed such a scale that it became clear that there would take place a terrible massacre, a terrible civil war, as a result of which there might

be a complete end to socialism and matters might have ended with a third world war. Although we are also against intervention, Tito declared, Soviet intervention was necessary. This, it stands to reason, is a true assessment of the Hungarian events.

But in this same speech Tito calls the Soviet troops' assistance to the Hungarian government "a mistake," and declares: "We never advised them to resort to the aid of the army." This attitude cannot be called consistent or in keeping with the true state of affairs. It is now quite clear to everyone that without this aid the counter-revolution would have gained the upper hand in Hungary and a Horthy fascist regime would have been established. The assistance of the Soviet troops, therefore, was a necessary and unavoidable step.

It is well known that the assistance given by the Soviet Union to the working people of Hungary in their struggle against the counter-revolution has evoked the approval of the fraternal Communist Parties and the working people of the socialist countries. Expressing the viewpoint of the Communist Party of China, the newspaper *People's Daily* wrote:

"The attitude of the Soviet Union towards the Hungarian events has been an absolutely correct stand of proletarian internationalism. . . . When the Hungarian government, representing the will and the national interests of the people, asked the Soviet Union for its help—and when the people of Hungary might have been reduced to fascist slavery if the Soviet Union had not responded by giving help—the Soviet government and people saw no reason to stand aside with folded arms."

In recent weeks the question of the fate of socialism in Hungary has been decided. Had a fascist Hungary appeared in the centre of Europe, then the political situation of a number of countries in Eastern and Central Europe would have changed considerably and the international situation as a whole on the continent of Europe would undoubtedly have been worsened.

The events in Hungary represented the first large-scale sally made by fascism during the whole of the post-war period, a sally which shows that the danger of fascism has not yet disappeared.

In these conditions ideological solidarity, redoubled vigilance, and profound adherence to principle in the posing of questions relating to the Hungarian events, is required of all supporters of socialism.

All the more surprising are some of the theses in Tito's speech—theses which by no means promote either the unity of all the supporters of socialism or a correct understanding of a number of important problems of the international situation and urgent tasks of the world communist movement.

To begin with, the fact is that in Tito's speech, alongside correct estimates of the Hungarian events, one also meets with assessments which cannot fail to arouse legitimate objections.

"Look," says Tito, addressing his audience, "you see how a people with their bare hands, poorly armed, offer the strongest resistance if they have before them a single purpose—to be free and independent. They are no longer interested in what this independence will be like, in whether a bourgeois and reactionary system will be restored in the country or not, if only it be nationally independent. It was with this that their thoughts were principally occupied."

In the first place, Comrade Tito patently exaggerates when he speaks of "the people" in this particular instance; secondly, Marxism-Leninism teaches us to appraise such phenomena in a different way. If sections of the working people are indifferent about whether the yoke of exploitation is placed on their necks (under the cover of false slogans about "freedom and independence"), about whether their country is turned into a plaything in the hands of big imperialist states, about whether they are hurled into a new war, as the fascist Hitlerite clique of Horthy did with the Hungarian people in 1941-44, this means that a section of the working people have fallen into the trap laid by reaction. This would mean, consequently, that the masses were proceeding not towards liberation and independence, but in the diametrically opposite direction, towards enslavement and the loss of independence.

Marxism-Leninism demands that in approaching social phenomena an answer should always be given to the direct question: "Which classes are interested in this or that event—to the interests of which class does this or that form of people's social activities conform?" It is true that considerable sections of the working people found themselves drawn into the maelstrom of events in Hungary. There are a number of instances in history when the national feelings of the masses have been aroused, whipped up and used by reactionary forces against the vital interests of the people.

In his speech Comrade Tito dealt with another important

international question—the aggression of Britain, France and Israel against Egypt.

"This is most typical aggression," he said, "which is in no way different from previous classic acts of aggression by colonial powers." Israel, continued Tito, had this time turned out to be an instrument of the great powers, and, as such, was a threat to peace.

"The most tragic thing, in my opinion," Tito said, "is the fact that the French socialists have disgraced themselves and again shown that they are most loyal servants of those who, at any cost, are striving to preserve the old classic forms of colonialism."

"And this, comrades, forces us to be cautious, for it is clear that the exponents of so-called western democracy—France and Britain—stand for peace, justice and democracy only in words, but in actual fact are hotbeds which can lead to extremely reactionary and aggressive actions, if they are given the opportunity."

From this correct assessment one conclusion should be drawn—the need to increase vigilance and the solidarity of all peace-loving peoples.

* * *

Speaking of the Hungarian events, Comrade Tito also makes a number of critical remarks addressed to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which deserve particular attention. Naturally we are not against criticism. The Moscow Declaration states, as the joint opinion of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, that our co-operation will be based on friendly criticism, the comradely character of the exchange of views on questions in dispute between our parties. And we have no grounds for departing from this decision. But the critical remarks of Comrade Tito attract our attention by the fact that they are made in a tone that had almost been discarded lately.

Let us take the basic theses advanced by Tito with regard to the Soviet system. He persistently stresses that "the cult of the individual was essentially a product of a certain system."

In fact, however, the cult of the individual is in glaring contradiction with our entire socialist system. Basing ourselves precisely on our political and economic system, we were able to wage a struggle against the cult of the individual and achieve

important successes within the shortest possible time in eliminating its consequences.

The Soviet socialist system, established by our working class in alliance with the peasantry, by all the working people of the Soviet Union, by its Communist Party, has been tested by the experience of history. The foundation of the unshakable might of the Soviet socialist system lies in the fact that it is based on socialist forms of ownership of the instruments and means of production. The Soviet social system is truly a people's system. In our country the exploiting classes have been completely eliminated. The moral and political unity of our society has taken shape and has been consolidated, the alliance between the working class and the peasantry has been still further strengthened, and the unbreakable friendship of all the peoples of the U.S.S.R. has been steered in the struggle for socialism.

The creation, within a short period of history, of a powerful industrial socialist state, a country with an advanced socialist agriculture, in the conditions of hostile capitalist encirclement, when all material aid from outside was not only refused, but when for decades there was a stubborn economic and ideological struggle, both open and concealed, against the first country of socialism—this is the result of the testing of this system by life itself. After the number of object lessons that have been given, not even the enemies of the Soviet Union now have any grounds for doubting the reality of this result. The enemies of socialism tried to test the firmness of our system in the furnace of the sternest of wars. The Soviet political and economic system, established by the peoples of our country under the guidance of the Communist Party, passed through this most difficult test with honour. The victory of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War was of historic significance for the whole world; it saved the peoples from the threat of fascist enslavement and opened up the way for the building of socialism in a number of countries and created favourable conditions for this.

The Soviet system has proved its strength in the restoration of the war-devastated economy, at a time when not only were we unable to rely on outside aid, but were ourselves giving aid to the young people's democratic states. The strength of our system lies in its collectivism, in profound socialist democracy. The Soviet system is a unity of millions and millions of workers in town and countryside for the great aims of building the new

society. The glorious deeds of Soviet people are there for everyone to see. Quite recently, in the great attack on the virgin lands, hundreds of thousands of people united at the call of the Party, achieving tremendous results in the most difficult conditions.

Naturally this does not mean to say that we have no shortcomings. They do exist, and we subject them to sharp and open criticism, and are carrying out systematic work to eliminate them. Our shortcomings were exposed at the Twentieth Congress of the party, which also pointed out the correct way to overcome them. No one can deny that today the Party and the Soviet state are persistently and consistently carrying out important measures to raise the living standards of the working people, for the observance of strict revolutionary legality, for the further development of socialist democracy.

That is the position with regard to the Soviet system, which neither war, nor economic blockade, nor the various intrigues of the enemies of socialism have been able to destroy. And naturally, it could not be destroyed by the cult of the individual either. Because it—this system, the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat—is based on the alliance between the working class and the collective farm peasantry, it has been brought to life by the laws of the historical development of society and embodies the creative energy of the millions of the working people.

How, in these circumstances, are Tito's remarks about our system to be interpreted, except as an attempt to cast a shadow over the Soviet people's system of public life? What else can we do but ask ourselves whether this is not a repetition of the earlier attacks on the Soviet Union which were in the fashion in the past, when relations between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia had worsened? It is the affair of the Yugoslav people and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia themselves what forms and methods they use in building socialism, but is it right, in so doing, to detract from the socialist system of other countries, to extol Yugoslavia's own experience, advertising it as universal and the best? One cannot fail to note that the idea is appearing with increasing frequency in the Yugoslav Press that "Yugoslavia's road to socialism" is the most correct, or even the only possible way for practically all countries in the world. And nothing is said of the good sides and the achievements of socialist construc-

tion in other countries. Such an attitude reminds us of the old Russian saying, "The sun can't rise without us!"

* * *

Creative diversity on the united path of socialist development is determined in the various countries by the concrete, objective conditions.

The great Chinese People's Republic has amassed splendid experience in socialist construction. Working in historically complicated conditions, the Communist Party of China is making a tremendous contribution to the theory and practice of building socialist society. The world communist movement has every right to be proud of the ability of our Chinese comrades to discover and successfully carry out new methods for solving the complicated problems of life of hundreds of millions of people. Yet the Chinese comrades constantly point out that they make no claim whatsoever that their methods of socialist construction are universal, though these methods have completely justified themselves in their country. The wisdom of the Chinese Communist Party's leadership is also displayed in the fact that it does not set up the experience gained in building socialism in its country in opposition to the experience of other countries, that it makes skilful use of the experience of all the socialist countries for the successful solution of the tasks of building the new society in China.

There is also a great deal of variety in the way in which the various problems of building socialism are being solved in the European people's democracies. The experience of economic and cultural development in Poland, Rumania and Albania, the experience of agricultural co-operation in Bulgaria, the great achievements in the development of industry and agriculture in Czechoslovakia—all this and a great deal more besides enriches the treasure-house of experience in building the new social system.

In Yugoslavia, too, there are distinct forms of socialist construction; new methods and systems of administration and management are being tried out in practice. Workers' councils appeared in Yugoslavia comparatively recently, and each year of their existence brings corrections to their functions, but some positive aspects of this form are already clear at the present time. This cannot be said of another innovation, which has an unfavourable effect, namely, certain measures in the field of

planning, which have weakened the planned basis of Yugoslav economy and strengthened the influence of market relations, and this has been mentioned in the Yugoslav Press.

There cannot be any doubt that good experience will always find supporters and followers if it has withstood the test of time and produced good results. And the opposite is also true—it is ridiculous to be resentful about other countries if any given method applied in one country is considered unsuitable for another.

Wherein lies the superiority of the "Yugoslav road to socialism" about which Yugoslav authors speak? Replying to this question, the authors of articles in the Yugoslav Press usually refer to this or that innovation of a political character. But socialism, a new social system, presupposes the reorganisation of the economy—the foundation of all social life. This reorganisation has been begun in Yugoslavia, but as the Yugoslav comrades themselves are very well aware, very much still remains to be done to complete this reorganisation. As we know, agriculture plays a big part in the economy of Yugoslavia, yet as regards grain production the prewar level has not yet been reached, and unfortunately, there is still a very long way to go to the victory of socialist relations in the countryside. It is also common knowledge that the annual deficit of wheat in Yugoslavia amounts to about 600,000-650,000 tons.

It is perfectly obvious that assistance received from capitalist states, and above all from the United States, has tremendous significance for Yugoslavia's economy. Because of the situation that had arisen, for a number of years Yugoslavia was able to take advantage of the sharpened contradictions between imperialism and the socialist countries. But if a considerable part of her economy represents assistance from capitalist countries, it cannot be recognised that this road has any special superiority. For not all the countries of the socialist camp can depend upon such assistance; they cannot base their policy on relying for aid on the imperialists. Consequently this road is by no means a universal one.

As we know, the imperialist circles have not given aid to Yugoslavia because they sympathise with socialism: with socialist construction in Yugoslavia. The politicians in the imperialist camp have admitted that their plans have included any and every means of sowing and fomenting discord between the socialist countries. It must not be forgotten for a single moment that the

enemies of socialism would be only too happy even now to resort to any means to sow discord in the community of socialist countries to weaken the ties between them.

In his speech Comrade Tito puts forward the slogan of the "independence" of socialist countries and Communist Parties from the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. However, everyone knows that the Soviet Union does not demand any dependence or subordination from anyone. This is stated exceedingly forcefully in the decisions of the 20th Congress. This principle is reaffirmed in the Soviet government's declaration of October 30, this year "On the Foundations for the Development and Further Strengthening of Friendship and Co-operation between the Soviet Union and other Socialist States." Our party and our government are correcting in a fully determined way the mistakes made in the past in this connection. Proof of this is the experience of our relations in recent years with Yugoslavia. We boldly undertook the eradication of all the mistakes of the past in relations with Yugoslavia, disregarding all considerations of prestige, and were the first to hold out a hand to the Yugoslav government and the League of Communists. No one can deny that on the part of the C.P.S.U. everything has been done and is being done to put relations on an ideological Marxist-Leninist basis in the interests of strengthening friendship and co-operation with the fraternal people of Yugoslavia, in the interests of the struggle for peace and socialism.

While giving on the whole a favourable appraisal of the development of Soviet-Yugoslav relations and the agreements concluded between the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, Tito makes the reproach against the Soviet leaders that they are allegedly reluctant to extend the principles recorded in these agreements to the other socialist countries. Tito needed this strange and completely far-fetched assertion in order to ascribe to the Soviet Union "lack of confidence" in the socialist forces of people's democracies.

These assertions are refuted by the facts.

There exist the Belgrade declaration and the joint declaration of the governments of the U.S.S.R. and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Soviet-Yugoslav relations, and also the declaration on relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. There exists the declaration of the government of the U.S.S.R. on the foundations for the development and further strengthening of

the friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and other socialist states. There exists the joint statement in connection with the negotiations between the delegation of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the government of the Soviet Union on the one hand, and the delegation of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and the government of the Polish People's Republic on the other. These decisions reflect the Leninist principles of relations between socialist states, yet Comrade Tito still continues to speak of some "Stalinist course" in relations with the people's democracies.

Even before the 20th Congress, in connection with the discussion on the question of Soviet-Yugoslav relations, the plenary meeting of the central committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in July, 1955, unanimously adopted the following decision, stating:

"In all our relations with the people's democracies and also with fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties, Soviet and Party organs and all our workers abroad should be strictly guided by the Leninist principles of socialist internationalism, full equality, respect for national sovereignty and regard for the national peculiarities of the respective countries. Soviet communists should serve as an example in carrying out the principles of proletarian internationalism, as this also befits the representatives of a multinational socialist country, where the national question has been solved consistently on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory.

"The historic experience of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies shows that, given unity in the main and basic task of securing the victory of socialism, various forms and methods of solving specific problems of socialist construction can be adopted in different countries in accordance with historical and national peculiarities."

The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as is well known, paid great attention to the question of correct relations, based on the principled stand of Marxism-Leninism between our Party and all other fraternal Communist and Workers' Parties. Now, after the 20th Congress, to speak of "Stalinists" in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union who, so to speak, are striving for the subjection of the fraternal parties, means simply to close one's eyes to the policy which the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union is in fact carrying out in relation to the socialist countries. The policy is based on the principles of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and is imbued with the spirit of strengthening friendship between the peoples, the spirit of proletarian internationalism. This policy is imbued with concern for strengthening the friendship, fraternal co-operation and solidarity of all the countries of the socialist camp, with concern for the strengthening of world peace.

What does Comrade Tito call for in his speech? To march alone? But what, it can be asked, does that road promise—what advantages does it promise the socialist countries?

There are no such advantages. A call to break from the other socialist states, from the whole friendly family of socialist countries, cannot bring benefit to the cause of building a socialist society. Loyalty to the Leninist banner of socialist internationalism, solidarity and unity of all the fighters for socialism—this is the most important condition for the success of our great cause.

* * *

In the light of the requirements of socialist internationalism one cannot but be astonished at the tone in which Comrade Tito thought it possible to speak of Communist Parties and their leaders. Without any foundation he classes as "Stalinists" all the leading workers of the fraternal parties of East and West who are not in agreement with his point of view, and he attributes to them the most repellent features. He speaks of them only as "diehard Stalinist elements," as "irresponsible elements in various Communist Parties" and such-like. The whole speech made at Pula abounds with similar attacks addressed to communist leaders.

Having chosen as the theme of his speech the question of mutual relations between Communist Parties, Tito in essence has not conducted polemics in a comradely way, has not argued, but instructed, or, to be more correct, scolded some of the leaders of Communist and Workers' Parties.

The speech was not made in the tone of a conversation or argument on equal grounds, with due respect for various views. And there are no grounds for speaking of "Stalinists," and "Stalinism," inasmuch as our party, like other Communist Parties

has upheld and continues upholding the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Particularly inadmissible is the contemptuous attitude expressed in his speech towards Albania and its leaders. Speaking of the Albanian comrades, Tito uses coarse and insulting expressions. At the same time it is well known that the Yugoslav leaders speak openly in support of the thesis of equality between great and small peoples, of the rights of each to have his own opinion and to uphold it.

Usually they insist that nobody can lay claim to a monopoly in determining the truth. But here, Comrade Enver Hoxha has barely written an article which does not please the Yugoslav comrades when they shower him with curses. Possibly the article might have been written differently. But why cannot Comrade Hoxha have his own opinion, and the right to criticise, to which the Yugoslav comrades lay claim?

In his speech Comrade Tito has patently interfered not only in the affairs of the Albanian Party of Labour. He has just as unceremoniously interfered in the affairs of the French Communist Party, and in those of other Communist Parties, including the affairs of our party, peremptorily trying to give assessments of the international situation in those parties and the activity of their leaders.

"The choice of leaders," wrote the newspaper *Humanite*, organ of the French Communist Party, in this connection, "is the internal affair of each party and outside interference in such affairs can, as the past has shown, only harm the working class movement as a whole." One cannot but agree with this just observation.

After all that has been said it is not surprising that the speech of Comrade Tito was received with exultation in bourgeois circles abroad. How can one not recall here the words of the old working class leader August Bebel, who recommended that you should ponder over an act if you were praised by enemies. Our opponents are now hastening to draw the conclusion that this speech is the cause of serious differences between the Soviet and Yugoslav communists, is leading to a worsening of Soviet-Yugoslav relations.

To whom is it not clear that for the common cause of the Communist Parties it is impermissible to start wrangles, to pass over to mutual attacks, to return to the atmosphere of dis-

agreements, which have become a thing of the past, thanks to mutual efforts? The supreme interests of the cause of the working class, the interests of socialism insistently require that mutual understanding be reached and the removal of everything which is pregnant with negative consequences for the further rallying of the forces of socialism on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The co-operation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, as is pointed out in the declaration "On Relations between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," should be completely voluntary and founded on a basis of equality, friendly criticism, on the comradely character of the exchange of views on disputes between our parties.

It is well known that among a section of the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia incorrect views, not conforming to Marxist-Leninist theory, on certain important questions of socialist construction, were widespread in the past, that deviations from the principles of proletarian internationalism were permitted.

Coming to an agreement with the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, our party had in mind that reaching common views on important ideological questions would require considerable time, since on a number of problems of an ideological character there were and there still are differences between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

For its part the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will continue to carry out the policy of co-operation between our parties on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the interests of the fraternal peoples of the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia, in the interests of the defence of the cause of peace, democracy and socialism. We are convinced that now, too, disputed questions must be discussed and clarified in a calm, friendly atmosphere, by means of a comradely exchange of views.

The communists of the Soviet Union, as also the communists of all the countries in the world, realise that in conditions when reaction has unleashed a fierce campaign against the forces of socialism and democracy, when the imperialists and fascist elements in many countries are undertaking savage attacks against

communists, trying to bring about a split in the international communist movement, the further rallying of all the forces of socialism on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism, is necessary.

HUNGARIAN REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' GOVERN- MENT APPEAL TO THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE

On November 5 "Pravda" published the following text of the Appeal to the Hungarian People, issued by the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

A HUNGARIAN Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government has been formed.

A mass movement developed in this country on October 23, with the noble objective of correcting the anti-party and anti-national mistakes which had been made by Rakosi and his confederates, and of defending national independence and sovereignty. The feebleness of the government of Imre Nagy and the increasing influence of the counter-revolutionaries who have made their way into the movement, have placed in jeopardy our socialist gains, our people's state, our workers' and peasants' rule, and the very existence of our country.

This has prompted us Hungarian patriots to establish a Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

The composition of the Cabinet is: Janos Kadar, Prime Minister; Ferenc Muennich, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of the Armed Forces and Public Security; Gyorgi Marosan, Minister of State; Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs; Istvan Kossa, Minister of Finance; Antal Apro, Minister of Heavy Industry; Imre Doegi, Minister of Agriculture; and Sandor Ronai, Minister of Trade.

The other ministerial posts we have left unfilled for the time being, for which it will be necessary, after the restoration of the legal form of government in the country, to invite representatives of other parties, and also those with no party affiliation, who are loyal to our people's democracy and who are prepared to defend their socialist gains in common with us.

The newly formed government addresses the Hungarian people with the following appeal:

Fellow Hungarians, Workers, Peasants, Soldiers, Comrades!

This is a hard year for our nation. The rule of the workers and peasants, the sacred cause of socialism are in danger. Great danger hangs over the achievements of the past twelve years which you, the Hungarian working people, and above all you, the Hungarian workers, have gained through your own efforts and through your own selfless work.

The counter-revolutionary conspirators are increasingly unmasking themselves. They are mercilessly hounding down the champions of democracy; the Nyilas and other fascist cut-throats are killing honest patriots and our best comrades.

We know that there are many problems left unsolved in this country, that there are still many difficulties which we shall have to grapple with. The way the working people live is still far from what it should be in a country building socialism. Along with the progress which has been made during the past twelve-year period of the leadership of the Rakosi and Gero clique, there have been many grave mistakes and grave breaches of law, all of which has incurred the rightful indignation of the working people.

The reactionaries are pursuing their own selfish ends. They have begun an attempt on the system of people's democracy. This means that they want to give the factories and works back to the capitalists, and the land back to the landlords. They want to impose gendarmes and police sergeants on the people's necks again, along with the whole of the accursed old régime of exploitation and oppression, loathed by the people. It is not freedom, prosperity and democracy, but slavery, poverty, unemployment and the ruthless oppression of the overlords that they would bring you if they were to win.

The reactionaries, exploiting the mistakes made in the process of building up people's democracy, have misled many honest-minded workers, and particularly a large number of the youth who have joined the movement out of genuinely patriotic considerations. These honest patriots have come out for the further democratisation of the whole of our social, economic and political life, which would help to strengthen the foundations of socialism in this country. They have spoken up in favour of Hungary advancing and prospering as a free and sovereign nation in friendship with the other socialist countries. It would

be wrong and criminal, therefore, to hold them guilty for having joined the movement.

The counter-revolutionary forces, taking advantage of the Imre Nagy government's weakness, are committing acts of violence, killing and looting, and it is to be feared that these forces might get the upper hand.

It is most grievous and painful for us to see what an appalling situation has been created in this beloved country of ours by the counter-revolutionaries, and even very often by honest and progressive people who have abused, either deliberately or otherwise, the slogans of democracy and freedom and have thereby opened the way to reaction.

Hungarians, Brothers, Patriots, Soldiers, Citizens!

An end must be put to the violence of the counter-revolutionary elements.

The hour for action has struck. Let us defend the rule of the workers and peasants, the achievements of people's democracy! Let us establish order, security and peace in our country!

The interests of the people, the interests of the nation make it imperative to set up a stable and strong government, one that would be able to lead the country out of its present difficult situation. This is why we have formed a Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government.

Here is the programme of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government:

1. Safeguarding of national independence and sovereignty.
2. Defence of our people's democratic socialist system against all attacks; defence of our socialist achievements, and a further advance towards socialism.
3. An end to fratricidal war and re-establishment of order and public peace in the country. The government will not allow the working people to be victimised for taking part in the recent events.
4. Establishment of close, fraternal and friendly relations with all socialist countries on terms of complete equality and non-interference in one another's internal affairs, and establishment of our economic contacts on terms of mutual benefit and mutual assistance.
5. Peaceful co-existence with all nations, whatever their social systems or forms of government.

6. Early and substantial improvement in the wellbeing of the working people, and above all of the working class. More homes for the working people; opportunity for works and factories to build flats for their workers and other employees.

7. Remodelling of the national economic plans and reshaping of practices in directing our economy, in keeping with the specific national conditions, so as to make it possible to achieve a more rapid increase in the living standards of the population.

8. Elimination of bureaucracy and extensive development of democracy for all sections of the working people.

9. Workers' administration at all works, factories and enterprises on the basis of broad democracy.

10. Expansion of agricultural production with the abolition of compulsory deliveries; assistance to individual working peasants. The government will resolutely put an end to all violations of the law, which have been committed in the practice of the co-operative movement and land organisation.

11. Guarantee of democratic elections to local government authorities and revolutionary councils.

12. Encouragement of small-scale private enterprise and trade in town and countryside.

13. Consistent development of Hungarian national culture on the basis of our progressive traditions.

14. The Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government, in the interests of our people, of our working class, of our homeland, has asked the command of the Soviet troops to help our people to crush the sinister forces of reaction and counter-revolution, to restore the people's socialist system, and to re-establish order and peace in our country.

15. Following the establishment of order and peace in our country, the Hungarian government will enter into negotiations with the government of the Soviet Union and with the other signatories of the Warsaw Treaty on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungarian territory.

Workers, Working Peasants, Intellectuals, Hungarian Soldiers and Officers!

Rally behind the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government! Support the righteous struggle of our people! Defend our people's democratic system! Disarm counter-revolutionary gangs everywhere!

Organised workers! Rally your ranks behind the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government! Resume work at once at all enterprises!

Working Peasants! Defend your land! Fight side by side with your brother workers for the common cause, for our people's democratic system!

Hungarian Youth! Do not let yourselves be misled. Only a people's democracy will bring you a better, free future. Defend it!

Hungarian Working People! Defence of the rule of people's democracy, re-establishment of order and resumption of production are the supreme conditions for realisation of your justified economic, political and social aspirations. This is what the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers' and Peasants' Government is fighting for, and it calls upon all true patriotic Hungarians to join in this selfless struggle.

Working People, Fellow Hungarians! Truth and justice are on our side. Victory will be ours!

SOME FACTS ON SOVIET ASSISTANCE TO HUNGARY

1945: The Second World War was still raging. Pursuing the German fascist troops, Soviet Army units liberated the Hungarian people from the rule of the Hitlerites and their Horthy fascist hirelings and thus brought the Hungarian people long-awaited freedom and independence, and the possibility for democratic development.

"The struggle for the liberation of small, oppressed peoples was crowned with success thanks to the tremendous efforts made by the heroic Soviet Army"—that is how Ferenc Nagy, former Prime Minister of Hungary, estimated the actions of the Soviet servicemen in that period, in a speech delivered on February 23, 1947.

This incidentally, is the same Ferenc Nagy who, now one of the inspirers of the reactionary insurgents in Hungary, excelled himself in slandering the units of the Soviet troops which rendered the Hungarian working people fraternal assistance in curbing the reactionary forces.

In order to ease the difficult food situation in Hungary's big industrial centres, particularly in Budapest, in March-June 1945, the Soviet Union placed at the disposal of the Hungarian provisional government large quantities of grain, meat, sugar and other products. The Soviet command provided the necessary transport, free of charge, to carry the food. The Soviet servicemen restored the most important industrial enterprises, power stations, oil works, railways, coal mines and communications, put up bridges across the Danube and the Tisza in place of those destroyed by the German and Hungarian fascists, and cleared the Danube channel of mines and debris. The Hungarian government was granted a substantial loan.

Even at that time the Soviet government offered Hungary considerable privileges in reparations and commercial commitments. Suffice it to recall, for example, that having received from the Soviet Union in 1945 goods to the value of 6,300,000 dollars,

Hungary herself supplied goods in exchange to the value of only 26,600 dollars.

1946: At the Hungarian government's request the Soviet government decided to extend the period for reparations deliveries from six to eight years.

1947: The Soviet Union agreed to increase prices for Hungarian goods delivered on account of reparations, which actually meant a considerable reduction in the sum of Hungary's reparation commitments.

1948: The Soviet government reduced by half, as from July 1, the remaining sum of reparation payments, as a result of which Hungary's total reparations were reduced by about one-third.

1952: A Soviet-Hungarian agreement was signed on September 30 on the sale to Hungary on favourable terms of the enterprises that had passed into the hands of the U.S.S.R. after the Second World War in the form of former German assets.

1954: The Soviet government handed over to Hungary its full share in the former Hungarian-Soviet mixed companies.

1955: An agreement was signed in June between Soviet and Hungarian organisations under which the Soviet Union undertook to carry out the necessary designing work and to supply Hungary with equipment for experimental reactors and accelerators of primary particles. The Soviet Union agreed to hand over free of charge the necessary scientific and technical documentation relating to these reactors and accelerators.

1956: Owing to the great shortage of oil and coke in Hungary, the Soviet Union, at the Hungarian government's request, decided in September to render Hungary additional economic assistance and undertook to deliver, up to October 31 this year, 100,000 tons of oil and 70,000 tons of coke over and above the established turnover for that year.

At the beginning of October the Soviet government granted Hungary a long-term 100-million-rouble credit on favourable terms, including 60 million roubles in deliveries of goods which Hungary was short of—such as coke, lead, cotton and synthetic rubber—and 40,000 roubles in free currency.

These are only a few examples of the economic assistance the Soviet Union has rendered the Hungarian people in building a free, independent and democratic Hungary. 50X1-HUM

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A. Y. VYSHINSKY

**THE SOVIET
ELECTORAL LAW**

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

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FOREIGN LANGUAGES PUBLISHING HOUSE
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Translated from the Russian

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Chapter I

ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Question 1. What are the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."?

Answer. The "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." constitute the Soviet electoral law; they establish the procedure of organizing and conducting elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

Hence, the Regulations are a practical guide in holding elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Without the Regulations, it would be impossible properly to carry out the complex work of elections for the supreme organ of state power in such a vast country as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

That is why the Regulations are of such great importance and why every citizen of the U.S.S.R. should be well acquainted with them.

The original "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." were approved by the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. at its Fourth Session held on July 9, 1937; they governed the first elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. held in the same year.

The second elections to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, held on February 10, 1946, were conducted in conformity

with the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." approved by a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet dated October 11, 1945. The 1950 elections to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet were held on the basis of the electoral law of January 9, 1950, which also governed the fourth elections to the Supreme Soviet in 1954.

Question 2. What is set forth in the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R."?

Answer. The Soviet electoral law is based on the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the distinguishing feature of which is its genuine socialist democratism. The Regulations lay down the principles of the electoral system as established by the Constitution and which govern the elections to the Supreme Soviet. The Regulations tell how the lists of voters are compiled, how election districts and wards are formed, how and by whom the election commissions are set up and explain their rights and duties; they also prescribe the procedure for nominating candidates to the Supreme Soviet, the voting and the method of establishing the results.

Question 3. In what way does Soviet electoral law differ from electoral laws in capitalist countries?

Answer. There is a radical difference between the Soviet electoral law as laid down in the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." and the electoral laws in the capitalist countries.

The difference is no less striking than that between the Soviet Constitution and bourgeois constitutions. In substance, bourgeois constitutions give legal embodiment to the rule of the capitalist class, to a social and state system based on private ownership of the instruments and means of production, on the exploitation of man by

man, and on the subjection of vast masses of workers and peasants to a propertied minority. The constitutions in bourgeois democracies safeguard the class interests of this minority, not the interests of the working people. Nor can it be otherwise, for bourgeois democracy, "although a great historical advance compared with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism cannot but remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited, for the poor."*

In his historic report to the Extraordinary Eighth All-Union Congress of Soviets, J. V. Stalin pointed out that the constitutions of bourgeois countries rest on the pillars of capitalism. Bourgeois constitutions reflect these pillars and embody them in law.

Bourgeois constitutions proceed from the premise that guidance of society by the state (the dictatorship) must be in the hands of the bourgeoisie, that the constitution must give legal embodiment to a social order that suits and benefits the propertied classes, and that nations and races cannot have equal rights. Bourgeois constitutions merely proclaim the rights of citizens, they do not give them the real opportunity to exercise these rights.

The 1936 Constitution of the U.S.S.R. is the constitution of victorious socialism and rests on the great gains of socialism. These gains consist of the fact that in the land of Soviets the capitalist system with its exploitation of man by man, unemployment and suffering for the masses of the people has been abolished, and of the victory of the workers and peasants who have established their own rule and built a new, socialist society.

At bedrock of the new Constitution, J. V. Stalin said, are the principles of socialism, its main pillars, already

* V. I. Lenin, *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Moscow 1952, pp. 31-32.

won and established. The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. reflects and embodies these principles in law.

The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. proceeds from the proposition that "guidance of society by the state (the dictatorship) is in the hands of the working class, the most advanced class in society; that a constitution is needed for the purpose of consolidating the social order desired by and beneficial to the working people."^{*}

The Soviet Constitution affirms complete equality of rights for nations and races and ensures to citizens the real exercise of the rights that are theirs.

Nothing like this exists, or can exist, in countries of the West.

The constitutions and electoral laws of capitalist countries contain all kinds of reservations, "specifications," "supplements" and "notes" which detract from, and reduce to nought, the rights and liberties formally proclaimed therein. This is what Marx said of bourgeois constitutions:

"... each paragraph of the Constitution contains its own antithesis, its own Upper and Lower House, namely, liberty in the general phrase, abrogation of liberty in the marginal note."^{***}

The main defect of all bourgeois constitutions is their inherently contradictory, false, and hypocritical nature.

J. V. Stalin pointed out that bourgeois constitutions often contain reservations and restrictions that mutilate democratic rights and liberties. As a rule the electoral laws in bourgeois countries best of all fulfil this function of "mutilating" constitutions.

Very often bourgeois electoral laws alter or re-edit constitutions and, by way of "explaining" the various provisions of the latter virtually nullify them.

* J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1954, p. 690-91.

** K. Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Moscow 1954, p. 37.

As for the Soviet Constitution and Soviet electoral law, they both convey the same principles and ideas. The electoral law of the U.S.S.R. does not truncate, limit, or "correct" the Constitution, as is the case with bourgeois electoral laws, but ensures the fullest and most consistent application of the electoral system established by the Soviet Constitution.

Question 4. Why does the Supreme Soviet, the highest organ of state power in the U.S.S.R., consist of two Chambers?

Answer. This is explained by the special nature of the Soviet Union which is made up of sixteen Union Republics that include within their boundaries several Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions, and National Areas. There are many nations and small peoples in the Soviet state. It is obvious that their specific interests and needs must be reflected in a definite manner in the supreme organ of state power in the country.

"We have a supreme body," as J. V. Stalin pointed out, "in which are represented the *common* interests of all the working people of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of nationality. This is the Soviet of the Union. But in addition to common interests, the nationalities of the U.S.S.R. have their *particular, specific* interests, connected with their specific national characteristics. Can these specific interests be ignored? No, they cannot. Do we need a special supreme body to reflect precisely these specific interests? Unquestionably, we do. There can be no doubt that without such a body it would be impossible to administer a multi-national state like the U.S.S.R. Such a body is the second Chamber, the Soviet of Nationalities of the U.S.S.R."^{*}

The two-chamber system enables all the Soviet peoples, even the smallest, to have their specific national

* J. Stalin, *Problems of Leninism*, Moscow 1954, p. 707.

needs and interests represented by their own deputies in the supreme organ of state power of the U.S.S.R.

In establishing the two-chamber system the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. proceeds from the fact that, in the Soviet Union, all the nations and races without exception have equal rights in all spheres of the economic, social, political, and cultural life of society.

The two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, have equal rights.

The equality of the two Chambers is ensured by the fact that both are equally entitled to initiate legislation, and a law is considered adopted provided it is passed by both Chambers; the Chambers are elected for an equal term and appoint similar standing commissions; their sessions begin and terminate simultaneously. In the event of disagreement between the Chambers, the issue is referred for settlement to a conciliation commission formed on a parity basis, and if the conciliation commission fails to reach agreement, or if its decision fails to satisfy either of the Chambers, the issue is once more considered by both Chambers. Failing agreement, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. dissolves the Supreme Soviet and decrees new elections.

Question 5. What is meant by universal suffrage?

Answer. Universal suffrage means that all Soviet citizens who have reached the age of 18 participate in elections, with the exception of the insane and persons sentenced by court of law to penalties involving forfeiture of electoral rights.

Article 123 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. guarantees equal rights to all citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of nationality or race. Any restriction of rights or the establishment of any direct or indirect privileges for some citizens as against others on account of race, and any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness or hatred

and contempt are punishable with all the severity of law.

In accordance with Article 135 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. all Soviet citizens who have reached the age of 18, irrespective of race or nationality, sex, religious creed, standard of education, domicile, social origin, property status or past activity, have the right to participate in the election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. This signifies real exercise of universal suffrage.

Citizens who have reached the age of 23 are eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

In the conditions of the Soviet system and victorious socialism, universal suffrage is one of the most powerful means of drawing the masses of the people into state administration, ensuring free expression of the people's will, and increasing public control over all work of the various state bodies.

"Universal, equal, and direct suffrage with secret ballot in the U.S.S.R. will be a whip in the hands of the population against those organs of government which work badly. In my opinion, our new Soviet Constitution will be the most democratic constitution in the world."*

Question 6. Are foreign citizens residing in the Soviet Union entitled to vote in the election of deputies to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.?

Answer. No, they are not. The Regulations establish that persons residing on the Soviet territory who are not citizens of the U.S.S.R. but are citizens or subjects of foreign states, are not entitled to elect or be elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

Question 7. Is universal suffrage actually exercised in bourgeois countries?

* J. V. Stalin, *Interview with Roy Howard*, Russ. ed., Moscow 1936, p. 23.

Answer. Universal suffrage is formally proclaimed in many bourgeois countries. As a matter of fact, however, there is not a single bourgeois country in which genuinely universal suffrage is ensured and in which electoral rights are not curtailed in one way or another. Residential, property, educational and other qualifications bar numerous categories of the population from participation in elections, with the result that suffrage is virtually deprived of its universal character. In many countries (Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Switzerland and elsewhere) women are denied electoral rights. In most countries men serving in the armed forces are disfranchised; in those cases where they formally possess electoral rights they are, in practice, unable to exercise them. In 1942, at the height of the Second World War, the U.S. Senate granted servicemen the right to participate in the Congressional elections, but only those quartered on American territory.

Participation of the working people in elections is seriously handicapped by the property qualification which exists in many countries.

Another wide-spread restriction on the suffrage is the requirement of prolonged residence in a specific locality prior to the compilation of lists of voters. In a number of states in the U.S.A., for instance, this qualification requires that a person shall have resided in the same locality for two years, and in Belgium for six months. In capitalist countries, hundreds of thousands of seasonal workers and unemployed are affected by this qualification.

National minorities in bourgeois countries are, as a rule, restricted in their electoral rights or deprived of them altogether. Millions of people are debarred from participation in elections on account of race or nationality. In the Union of South Africa, most Negroes and Indians, who constitute over 85 per cent of the population, are disfranchised. Countries turned into colonies or dominions have been placed at a disadvantage compared with the metropolitan countries. In the French colonies, for

example, the entire native population, some 60 million people, are completely disfranchised. The vast population of the British colonies is in a similar position. In a number of states in the U.S.A., Negroes cannot participate in elections because of an educational qualification; to acquire the right to vote, people there must be able to read, write and speak English. In other states of the Union electoral laws forbid assistance to illiterates in filling ballot papers, with the result that "illiterate" Negroes are virtually excluded from participation in elections.

A big section of the youth in many bourgeois countries is barred from participation in elections because of the high age qualification. In Britain, the U.S.A. and France electoral rights are not granted before the age of 21, in Turkey 22, in Sweden 23, in Holland 25, and in Afghanistan 28.

This being the case, all talk about universal suffrage is so much deceit and hypocrisy.

Question 8. What does equal suffrage mean?

Answer. Equal suffrage means that at elections every voter is entitled to one vote equal to that of any other voter, that all citizens participate in elections on an equal footing and that, hence, no voter has special privileges.

Under Article 122 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. women have equal rights with men in all spheres of economic, state, cultural and socio-political activity. In accordance with Article 136 of the Constitution elections of deputies are equal, which means that each citizen has one vote and all citizens participate in the elections on an equal footing. Article 137 of the Constitution specifies that women possess the right to elect and be elected on equal terms with men.

Under Article 138 citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. have the right to elect and be elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on equal terms with all other citizens.

Equal suffrage is proclaimed by some bourgeois constitutions too, but in actual practice it does not exist in capitalist countries.

In recent years, knowing that elections even on mildly democratic lines would spell defeat for them, the ruling circles in a number of capitalist countries have rushed reactionary electoral laws through the parliaments of their respective countries. In France, for instance, a new electoral law passed in 1951 provides that blocs of any parties contesting the elections shall occupy all the seats in Parliament from this or that department provided they get a simple majority, while the other parties get no seats, no matter how many votes they polled. If the democratic principle of proportional representation were applied, the other parties would have a corresponding number of seats. Small wonder then that, under this electoral "law" which has nothing in common with a genuinely democratic electoral system, the French Right-wing Socialists secured as many seats as the Communist Party of France, although they polled only half the vote recorded by the Communists.

The 1953 elections to the legislature in Italy were held under a new law, which the people aptly dubbed the "big swindle." This law established a so-called "prize for the majority," i.e., a rule providing that the party or bloc of parties polling, even by one vote, more than 50 per cent of the votes, would get 380 of the 590 seats, or 65 per cent of the total. Had Italian reaction succeeded in achieving its aim, about four million voters would, in effect, have been deprived of the right to send representatives to Parliament. The high level of political consciousness and activity of the masses prevented Italian reaction from carrying its plans into effect; it suffered a heavy defeat. Later, in 1954, as a result of mass pressure the law was repealed.

In the elections held in Western Germany in September 1953 a fraudulent electoral system operated whereby the parties polling less than five per cent of the vote and

not in any bloc were completely deprived of representation in the Bundestag. As a result of this machination the German Communist Party was denied representation in the Bundestag, although it polled more than 600,000 votes which entitled it to at least 12 seats. On the other hand, the reactionary catholic "Centre Party" which was in a bloc with Adenauer's party, polled only one-third of the Communist Party vote and yet was allocated four seats.

It is worth taking a look at the candidates of the Adenauer bloc in these elections. Along with tycoons of West German capitalism and banking like the "cement" king Dyckerhoff, Schacht, Henle, Pierdmenges, and others, there were airforce general Stumpf, a war criminal, Hitler generals and admirals Manteuffel, Heye, and Field Marshal Kesselring. Side by side with them on candidates' lists were such out-and-out Hitlerites as von Dernberg, former departmental head in Ribbentrop's ministry, Schmidt, Hitler's personal interpreter, and Meinberg, so-called "Führer of the Reich Peasants."

Such electoral laws are obviously unjust; they are aimed against the working masses and serve the interests of the ruling reactionary classes in the capitalist countries.

Genuine equality of electoral rights for citizens is fully ensured in the Soviet socialist state.

This equality also finds expression in the procedure for forming the Supreme Soviet election districts.

Election districts or constituencies have been formed for the Soviet of the Union, each district comprising 300,000 people. Under the Soviet electoral law all the Soviet of the Union election districts are equal, each electing only one deputy.

Equal suffrage in electing deputies to the Soviet of Nationalities is guaranteed by the fact that the Union Republics elect 25 deputies each, the Autonomous Republics 11, the Autonomous Regions 5, and the National Areas one deputy each.

In conformity with this the territory of each Union Republic is divided into twenty-five districts equal in population; the territory of each Autonomous Republic, into eleven districts, also equal in population, and the territory of each Autonomous Region, into five equal districts; each National Area constitutes one election district regardless of population. The Soviet of Nationalities election districts, too, elect one deputy each.

The system of elections to the Soviet of Nationalities established by the Constitution and the Election Regulations is fully in keeping with the great principles of the Lenin-Stalin national policy which has ensured powerful economic, political, and cultural progress for all the numerous nationalities of the U.S.S.R., united in a single multi-national socialist state of workers and peasants.

In some capitalist countries unequal election districts are formed, with the result that in political terms the specific weight of the voter in one constituency often turns out to be less than that of a voter in another constituency.

In Britain the inequality of constituencies was also retained at the 1950 elections. The electorate in the Sutherland constituency, for instance, numbered 25,887, while the Leyton and Dartmouth constituencies numbered 78,491 and 79,085 respectively. This system gives preponderance to backward rural districts at the expense of the more progressive industrial centres.

In capitalist countries the democratic principle of equal suffrage is grossly violated by the requirement that a deposit be advanced for each candidate, which is extremely embarrassing to the needy voters. Such an electoral system is clearly incompatible with the interests of the vast democratic sections of the population.

As for the Soviet electoral system, it guarantees voters real equality and genuinely equal suffrage.

In the U.S.S.R. the voters enjoy equal rights irrespective of social origin, property status or occupation. Work-

ers, peasants and intellectuals participate in elections on an equal footing.

The equal suffrage effected in the Soviet Union is proof of the consistent development of Soviet democracy.

Question 9. What does direct suffrage signify?

Answer. The Soviet Constitution (Article 139) has established direct suffrage, that is, an electoral procedure according to which deputies to all organs of state power, including the Supreme Soviet, are elected by all citizens directly.

Prior to the adoption of the 1936 Constitution, only town and village Soviets were elected by direct vote.

The higher organs of Soviet power were elected at the appropriate congresses of Soviets. The working people elected delegates to the district congresses of Soviets. These congresses elected delegates to the regional, territorial and republican (in republics where there was no regional division) congresses, which in their turn elected delegates to the congresses of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. In the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic delegates to republican congresses were elected at the regional (territorial) congresses of Soviets. The Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. and the Central Executive Committees of the Union Republics were elected at the Congress of Soviets of the U.S.S.R. and at the Republican congresses of Soviets respectively. As a result, the District Executive Committees were elected by a two-stage system, the Territorial and Regional Executive Committees as well as the leading organs of the Autonomous Republics and the Central Executive Committees of the Union Republics in which there were regions, by a three-stage system, and the Central Executive Committee of the U.S.S.R. by a four-stage system.

In the past this system was necessary and it completely justified itself. It was conditioned by the state of the Soviet economy at the time, the nature of the bonds be-

tween town and country; the cultural level of the population and the degree of activity of the masses. It is well known that during the Civil War and for a number of years afterwards the economic, cultural and socio-political situation in the country made it difficult to replace indirect elections by direct elections.

Speaking about the advantages of introducing direct elections, Comrade Molotov said:

"Direct elections will further enhance the prestige of the organs of Soviet power and reinforce the ties between these organs and the broad masses of the working people. The workers and peasants will have a better knowledge of their representatives not only in the districts and regions, but in the central organs of the Soviet state; they will be linked more directly with them, and, as a result, the entire work of the leading organs of Soviet power will be further improved."*

Question 10. What is implied by the secret ballot?

Answer. The secret ballot, established by Article 140 of the Constitution, is a procedure in which balloting is not done, for instance, by show of hands in the presence of other voters, as is the case with the open ballot, but by filling ballot papers in a booth where the presence of others, including members of the ward election commission, is forbidden. This procedure guarantees the electorate complete freedom of expression of will. In these conditions the voter feels perfectly independent, since no one knows, or can know, for whom he casts his vote.

On the other hand, the secret ballot, being a powerful means of control on the part of the electorate, makes the deputy have more respect for public opinion, work better, and attend still more conscientiously to his business, to his duties in relation to the state.

* V. M. Molotov, *Changes in the Soviet Constitution*, Russ. ed., Moscow 1935, p. 28.

In the countries of bourgeois parliamentary democracy there is no genuinely secret ballot, although nominally it has been instituted there. The system of bribery, open trading in votes and downright terror against the electorate grossly violate the secrecy of balloting. The very method of holding elections contributes to this. In many countries the holding of elections is entrusted to officials of the Ministry of the Interior and the police. The Adenauer government, for instance, mobilized 100,000 policemen during the elections held in September 1953, according to press reports, for the purpose of ensuring the success of the elections, to say nothing of the numerous terrorist fascist gangs hired for the same purpose.

The replacement of the open ballot by the secret ballot vividly illustrated, as V. M. Molotov pointed out, the desire of the Soviet authorities to place the work of their organs under increased supervision by the workers and peasants.

The Election Regulations set forth rules the observance of which guarantees complete secrecy of balloting.

Chapter II

LISTS OF VOTERS

Question 11. What is meant by voters' lists referred to in Chapter II of the Election Regulations?

Answer. The voters' list (register) is a most important electoral document authorizing the issue of ballot papers to the electorate. Receipt of the ballot paper enables the elector to participate in voting. But before he receives it he must be entered in the list of voters in his election ward.

Articles 15 and 17 of the Election Regulations provide that the voters' register shall be drawn up in each election ward in the form established by the Presidium of the

Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. In towns the registers are compiled by the Executive Committees of urban Soviets of Working People's Deputies, in cities divided into districts, by the Executive Committees of the district Soviets, in smaller towns, by the Executive Committees of the town Soviets, and in rural localities, by the Executive Committees of rural (stanitsa, village, hamlet, kishlak, aul) Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Question 12. Who are entered in the voters' register?

Answer. Since elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are held on the basis of universal suffrage, the voters' lists include all citizens who have reached the age of 18 by election day, who enjoy electoral rights and reside (permanently or temporarily) in the territory of the given Soviet at the time of compilation of the lists.

With regard to electors who have reached the age of 18 by election day, it is required that the year, month and date of birth be registered in the list of voters. If the Soviet of Working People's Deputies lacks exact information concerning the month and date of birth of such an elector, it is assumed that he was born on January 1 of the year in question.

Persons deprived of electoral rights by court of law are not entered in the lists of voters for the period of deprivation of electoral rights specified in the sentence; nor shall the voters' lists include persons certified insane in the manner prescribed by law.

Question 13. What identification papers are required for the citizens to be included in the voters' register by the Executive Committees of Soviets?

Answer. The Executive Committees of Soviets may not demand from citizens any papers for the purpose of putting their names on the voters' register. It is the duty of the Executive Committees themselves to compile these

registers. In towns, for instance, lists of voters are compiled in conformity with the records in house-registers, and in rural localities, in conformity with farmstead registers, or with the lists of temporary residents.

Question 14. What guides the Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies in deciding that persons deprived of electoral rights, or certified insane, shall not be entered in the lists of voters?

Answer. Regarding persons deprived of electoral rights by court of law, the Executive Committees of Soviets shall be guided by absolutely reliable and carefully checked evidence, such as copy of the sentence or an official announcement by organs of the Procurator's Office or courts of law. Statements in this respect by private individuals are not sufficient in themselves.

In regard to insane persons the Executive Committees shall be guided either by the certificate issued by court of law on the basis of an act by judicial and psychiatric experts, or by official notifications of medical establishments (asylums, special medical commissions), acting on special powers vested in them by the law.

Question 15. Should citizens sentenced by court of law to a penalty that does not involve either imprisonment or deprivation of electoral rights be included in lists of voters?

Answer. Such citizens are included in lists of voters. The lists should not include citizens convicted by court without deprivation of electoral rights, if they are under arrest, since in such circumstances they are unable to participate in elections.

Besides, voters' lists do not include persons under judicial examination and therefore held under arrest.

Question 16. How and where are nomads (e.g., Gipsies) included in voters' lists?

Answer. They are included in voters' lists on an equal footing with all other citizens by the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies in whose territory they are camped at the time of compilation of the lists.

Question 17. Can a citizen be entered in more than one voters' register?

Answer. No. The Election Regulations (Article 13) establish that no voter can be entered in more than one list of voters, otherwise the principle of equal suffrage would be violated.

Question 18. How are voters' lists compiled in military units or military formations? In what voters' lists are all the other persons on military service included?

Answer. Lists of voters in military units and military formations are drawn up by the command and signed by the commander.

All other persons on military service are entered in voters' lists according to place of residence by the Executive Committees of the appropriate local Soviets, and they vote, too, according to place of residence.

Question 19. Do persons serving in military units and military formations of the Soviet Army and Navy beyond the Soviet frontiers participate in elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.?

Answer. Yes, they do. By a decree dated October 14, 1945, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. settled this matter guided by Article 138 of the Constitution which establishes that citizens serving in the Soviet Army have the right to elect and be elected on equal terms

with all other Soviet citizens. They vote in special election districts. The rate of representation for the troops is one deputy in each of the two Chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, for each special district.

Question 20. What facilities are at the disposal of electors for inspecting voters' registers?

Answer. The Regulations bind the Executive Committees of Soviets of Working People's Deputies to exhibit voters' lists for public inspection thirty days prior to elections or to enable electors to acquaint themselves with the lists on the premises either of the Soviet or the election ward.

Question 21. What is the significance of providing citizens with facilities for prior inspection of the voters' lists?

Answer. Prior examination of voters' lists is of great importance since it makes it possible timely detection and correction of errors (non-inclusion in the list of citizens possessing electoral rights, inclusion of persons deprived of electoral rights, distortion of surname, given name or patronymic, etc.).

Question 22. What is the procedure for correcting voters' lists?

Answer. To have any inaccuracy in the lists corrected—inaccuracies such as non-inclusion or exclusion from the lists, distortion of surname, given name or patronymic, incorrect inclusion of persons deprived of electoral rights, etc., the citizen must submit an appropriate application to the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Working People's Deputies which published the list. It is the duty of that body to consider the matter within three days.

Any citizen may submit such a claim to the Executive Committee of a Soviet either directly or through the ward election commission.

Question 23. Is it permissible to appeal against a decision taken by the Executive Committee of the Soviet concerning corrections in voters' lists?

Answer. Yes, appeal can be made. To do this the citizen must submit his complaint to a People's Court. The court is obliged to examine the complaint in open session within three days in the presence of the claimant and a representative of the Executive Committee of the Soviet in question and immediately announce its decision both to the Executive Committee of the Soviet and to the claimant.

The decision of a People's Court is final and is not subject to appeal.

The foregoing shows that the procedure of compiling voters' lists in the Soviet Union is simple and democratic in the highest degree and fully guarantees the correction of possible mistakes.

Question 24. How do voters who have changed their place of residence after publication of voters' lists participate in elections?

Answer. A voter who has changed his place of residence in the interval between the date of publication of voters' lists and election day, can be included in the register at his new place of residence.

For this he must obtain from the Executive Committee of the appropriate Soviet of Working People's Deputies the "Voting Right Certificate" established by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. He then submits this certificate, together with his identification papers, to the Executive Committee of the Soviet at his new place of residence—permanent or temporary—

whereupon he is entered in the voters' list and so participates in the elections in the ordinary way.

Question 25. What is the voting procedure for electors who arrive at a new place of residence on polling day?

Answer. An elector who arrives at a new place of residence on polling day may go to any election ward where, upon presentation of the "Voting Right Certificate" and identification papers, he will be entered in the voters' list, receive ballot papers and vote on equal footing with the other electors.

Chapter III

SOVIET OF THE UNION AND SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES ELECTION DISTRICTS

Question 26. On what principle are the election districts for the Soviet of the Union formed?

Answer. The election districts for the Soviet of the Union are formed on the following principle: the entire territory of the U.S.S.R. is divided into election districts of 300,000 inhabitants per district.

Hence, there are as many election districts in the U.S.S.R. as obtain from division of the total population by 300,000. For the 1954 elections to the Soviet of the Union there were 700 election districts.

Question 27. How are the election districts for the Soviet of Nationalities formed?

Answer. Twenty-five election districts have been formed in each Union Republic. Since there are sixteen Union Republics in the U.S.S.R., 400 districts were formed

for the 1954 elections. There are 11 districts in each Autonomous Republic—a total of 176 for the 16 Autonomous Republics. The nine Autonomous Regions have five election districts each or 45 altogether. The ten National Areas have one election district each. The total number of the Soviet of Nationalities election districts in 1954 was 631.

In all, 1,331 election districts were formed for the 1954 elections to the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, not counting the special election districts formed in military units and military formations of the Soviet Army and Navy beyond Soviet territory.

Question 28. How many deputies are elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.?

Answer. Since each election district elects but one deputy, the total number of the Supreme Soviet deputies is 1,331, besides, a certain number is elected by voters serving in military units and military formations of the Soviet Army and Navy beyond the Soviet Union's frontiers.

Chapter IV

ELECTION WARDS

Question 29. What is the election ward and for what purpose is it set up?

Answer. The election ward is formed for the purpose of polling ballots and counting the votes. To this end every city and district forming part of an election district or constituency is divided into wards common for elections to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

The break-down of election districts into election wards comprising a small number of inhabitants, and situated as close as possible to the voter's place of resi-

dence, makes the holding of elections in the district much easier.

If the voters of a whole district had to vote in one place, both polling and the counting of votes would be exceedingly difficult and would require much more time, whereas, according to the Regulations, elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. must be held in the course of one day.

Plainly it is much more convenient and rational to poll ballots and count the votes according to small wards rather than in one large election district.

Question 30. Who is empowered by law to set up election wards?

Answer. In cities divided into districts the duty of setting up election wards is assigned to the Executive Committees of the district Soviets of Working People's Deputies, and in towns with no such division, to the Executive Committees of the town Soviets; in rural localities the task falls to the Executive Committees of the district or uyezd Soviets of Working People's Deputies.

Question 31. On what principle are the election wards formed?

Answer. In towns, industrial centres, villages and rural localities with more than 2,000 inhabitants, election wards are formed so that each ward comprises from 1,500 to 3,000 inhabitants.

As a rule, the territory of a rural Soviet with not more than 2,000 inhabitants constitutes a single election ward; each stanitsa, village, kishlak, and aul with 500 or more inhabitants, but not in excess of 2,000, constitutes a separate election ward.

In villages or groups of villages with about 500 inhabitants, but not less than 300, separate election wards may be set up, if the distance from these villages to the election ward centre exceeds ten kilometres.

In remote northern and eastern regions, where small communities prevail, it is permissible to form election wards of not less than 100 inhabitants.

As for the National Areas in the North as well as in mountainous and nomadic regions, the Election Regulations permit the forming of election wards there, even if the population is below 100, provided, however, that it is not below 50.

Military units and military formations constitute separate election wards of not less than 50 and not more than 3,000 voters.

Question 32. What facilities are there for voters in hospitals, maternity homes, sanatoria and invalid homes to participate in elections?

Answer. In all medical establishments and invalid homes too, with not less than 50 electors, separate election wards are formed. In hospitals of several buildings election wards may be set up in each building, provided it houses not less than 50 voters.

As regards voters who, while not in hospitals, are unable to reach the election ward because of illness, it is the duty of the members of the ward commission or of specially authorized persons to visit the voter's home upon request where the ballot paper is filled in and placed in a miniature ballot box.

Question 33. How do voters on board ship on election day participate in elections?

Answer. Vessels under sail on election day, and with not less than 25 voters on board, may constitute separate election wards, to be included in the election district of the port of registry.

Question 34. What about citizens travelling in long-distance trains on election day, how do they participate in elections?

Answer. In long-distance trains that are under way on election day, wards are arranged so that voters holding "Voting Right Certificates" can poll their ballot papers. Train election wards are registered either in the districts where the respective trains were marshalled, or in the districts whose territory they cross on election day.

In the light of the foregoing it is clear that the Soviet principle of forming election wards ensures maximum attendance by voters, and, by removing every hindrance and difficulty in the way the elector exercises his rights, makes the voting for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. genuinely universal. Every point in the Election Regulations reflects the broad popular democratism of the Soviet electoral system. Small wonder, therefore, that as a rule the overwhelming majority of the electorate goes to the polls in the Soviet Union.

Chapter V

ELECTION COMMISSIONS

Question 35. What election commissions function for elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.?

Answer. The following election commissions are set up for the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet elections:

1) The Central Election Commission for the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; 2) Soviet of Nationalities Election Commissions for the Union Republics, Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas; 3) District Soviet of the Union Election Commissions; 4) District Soviet of Nationalities Election Commissions; 5) Ward Election Commissions.

Question 36. How are the election commissions formed?

Answer. The election commissions consist of representatives from trade-union organizations of workers and other employees, co-operative bodies, Communist Party and youth organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies, and other legally registered public organizations and societies of the working people, as well as representatives elected at meetings of workers and other employees in enterprises and servicemen in army and naval units, and at meetings of peasants on collective farms, in villages and volosts, and of workers and other employees on state farms.

Question 37. What is the composition of the Central Election Commission and what are its functions?

Answer. The Central Election Commission is composed of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and 24 members. It is endorsed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. not later than fifty days prior to the date fixed for the elections.

The Central Election Commission:

- a) Sees that the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." are strictly observed throughout the Soviet Union;
- b) Deals with complaints concerning irregularities on the part of election commissions and takes final decisions on the complaints;
- c) Establishes the models of ballot boxes, the form and colour of ballot papers, the form of the official records of registration of candidates by the district election commissions, the form of the official records of the count, the form of the certificates of election, and the design of seals for the election commissions;
- d) Registers the deputies elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.;
- e) Turns over the election files and records to the

Credentials Commissions of the Soviet of the Union and of the Soviet of Nationalities.

Question 38. What is the composition of the Soviet of Nationalities election commissions and what are their functions?

Answer. The Soviet of Nationalities election commissions of the Union Republics, Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and from ten to sixteen members and are confirmed by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union and Autonomous Republics or by the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies of Autonomous Regions and National Areas not later than fifty days prior to election day. These election commissions see that the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." are strictly adhered to in the course of the elections; they also deal with complaints of irregularities on the part of Soviet of Nationalities election commissions.

Question 39. What is the composition of district Soviet of the Union election commissions and of district Soviet of Nationalities election commissions?

Answer. District Soviet of the Union and district Soviet of Nationalities election commissions are composed of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and eight members, and are endorsed in accordance with Articles 45 and 49 of the Election Regulations not later than fifty days prior to the polling day.

Question 40. What are the functions of the district election commissions?

Answer. District Soviet of the Union and district Soviet of Nationalities election commissions:

a) See that the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." are strictly adhered to in the territory of their respective election districts;

b) Deal with complaints of irregularities on the part of ward election commissions and take appropriate decisions;

c) See that the Executive Committees of the Soviets of Working People's Deputies form the election wards in good time;

d) See that voters' lists are compiled and made public in proper time;

e) Register candidates nominated in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.";

f) Furnish the ward election commissions with ballot papers in the prescribed form;

g) Count the votes cast and establish the returns;

h) Issue certificates of election to the elected deputies;

i) Turn over the election files and records to the Central Election Commission and the Soviet of Nationalities election commissions of the Union and Autonomous Republics, Autonomous Regions and National Areas.

Question 41. What is the composition of ward election commissions?

Answer. The Election Regulations provide that ward election commissions shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary and from four to eight members, and in election wards with less than 300 inhabitants, of a chairman, secretary and from one to three members. Ward election commissions are endorsed by the Executive Committees of the appropriate town, district or uyezd Soviets of Working People's Deputies not later than forty days prior to the date fixed for the elections.

Question 42. What are the functions of the ward election commissions?

Answer. The ward election commissions:

a) Receive claims concerning inaccuracies in lists of voters and submit them for consideration to the Executive Committees of the Soviets which published the lists;

b) Receive the ballots in the election wards;

c) Count the votes cast for each candidate;

d) Turn over election files and records to the district Soviet of the Union election commissions or the district Soviet of Nationalities election commissions respectively.

Question 43. How do the election commissions work?

Answer. The Election Regulations establish that the meetings of all election commissions are deemed valid if attended by more than one-half of their total membership and that all questions are decided by a simple majority vote; in the event of an equal division, the chairman has the casting vote.

Chapter VI

PROCEDURE FOR NOMINATING CANDIDATES TO THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE U.S.S.R.

Question 44. How are candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. nominated?

Answer. In accordance with Article 141 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R. the Election Regulations establish that the right to nominate candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is ensured to public organizations and societies of the working people, namely, Communist Party organizations, trade unions, co-operatives, youth organizations, and cultural societies.

The right to nominate candidates is exercised by the central bodies of public organizations and societies of the working people and by their republican, territorial, regional, uyezd and district bodies, as well as by general meetings of workers and other employees in enterprises, and of servicemen in army and naval units, and also by general meetings of peasants on collective farms, and of state farm workers and other employees on state farms.

In conformity with Article 126 of the Constitution, all citizens of the U.S.S.R. may, regardless of occupation, unite in various public organizations: trade unions, co-operative associations, youth and sports organizations, cultural, technical and scientific societies; and the most active and politically-conscious citizens in the ranks of the working class and other sections of the working people may unite in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle for building communist society, and the leading core of all organizations of the working people, both public and state.

It is clear that this procedure, which provides Soviet citizens with the greatest opportunity of participating in the nomination of candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is genuinely democratic.

Question 45. Who may be nominated as candidate to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.?

Answer. Under the Soviet electoral law any citizen who has reached the age of twenty-three and enjoys electoral rights is eligible for election to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

This law does not make any special claims on candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

The situation is quite different in bourgeois countries. In Britain, for example, each candidate must deposit 150 pounds, in Canada 300 dollars, and in Japan 2,000 yen. Moreover, in the event of the candidate not polling

a definite minimum of votes, this deposit is confiscated for the benefit of the state. In some countries candidates meet the expenditure in acquiring ballot papers.

Nothing like this exists in the Soviet Union where there are no "election deposits" or payment of election expenditure by candidates.

According to Article 11 of the Election Regulations all the expenditure incurred in elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is borne by the state.

Candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. are nominated by the people themselves, who proceed solely from the personal ability of the citizens concerned, from the quality of their work, and from their devotion to the people and country.

Question 46. How are the candidates to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. nominated and registered?

Answer. According to the Election Regulations public organizations or societies of the working people nominating candidates for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. must submit to the district election commissions the following documents indicated in Article 61 of the Election Regulations: first, the minutes of the meeting at which the candidate was nominated; second, a declaration by the candidate of his consent to stand for election in the given election district on behalf of the organization which nominated him.

The minutes must state the surname, given name and patronymic of the candidate, his age, address, party affiliation and occupation. Besides, they must state the time and place of the meeting and the number of persons present.

The minutes must be signed by the members of the presidium of the meeting, and stating their addresses and the name of the organization nominating the candidate.

Not later than thirty days prior to the date of elections the candidates must be registered by the district election commission for the Soviet of the Union or by the district election commission for the Soviet of Nationalities, depending on which body the candidate in question is nominated for.

Not later than twenty-five days prior to the date of elections, the respective district election commission publishes after registration the surname, given name, patronymic, age, occupation and party affiliation of the given candidate and the name of the public organization nominating him. Thereafter the registered candidates are entered in the ballot paper.

If it is established at the time of registration that some requirement or other put forward to a candidate by the Regulations has not been complied with, the district election commission is entitled to refuse registration of the candidate. In that case the candidate is not included in the ballot paper.

Question 47. Is it permissible to appeal against the refusal of a district election commission to register a candidate?

Answer. Yes, it is. The Election Regulations point out that the refusal of a district Soviet of the Union election commission or a district Soviet of Nationalities election commission to register a candidate may be appealed against within a period of two days.

Question 48. With what body is the refusal of a district election commission to register a candidate for the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet appealed against?

Answer. Appeal against refusal of a district Soviet of the Union election commission to register a candidate is lodged with the Central Election Commission.

Appeal against refusal of a district Soviet of Nationalities election commission to register a candidate is lodged with the respective election commission of the Union or Autonomous Republic, Autonomous Region or National Area, and appeal against the decision of this body is lodged with the Central Election Commission.

The decision of the Central Election Commission is final and is not subject to appeal.

Question 49. Is it permissible to nominate one candidate in several districts?

Answer. Yes, this can be done. No matter where a candidate lives and regardless of whether he has already been nominated in one district, he may be nominated by electors in any other district. But the Election Regulations provide that a candidate for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. may stand for election only in one district. The candidate must declare his consent to stand for election in the given district on behalf of the organization nominating him.

Only those candidates are balloted who have been nominated, according to Article 141 of the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., by public organizations and societies of the working people and registered with the district election commissions in proper time.

Question 50. What is the ballot paper?

Answer. The ballot paper is a sheet printed in the form prescribed by the Central Election Commission. It indicates the name and number of the election district, the surname, given name and patronymic of candidates for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., as well as an enumeration of the organizations nominating the candidates.

The ballot papers must be printed in the language of the inhabitants of the election district in question. If in that district there are groups of inhabitants speaking different languages, the ballot papers must be printed

in the respective languages and in quantities sufficient to supply all the voters with ballot papers in their native languages.

Question 51. When and where do electors receive the ballot papers?

Answer. The ballot papers must be printed by the district Soviet of the Union election commissions and the district Soviet of Nationalities election commissions not later than fifteen days prior to the date of the elections and then distributed to all the ward election commissions which issue them to the voters on polling day.

Chapter VII

VOTING PROCEDURE

Question 52. Are elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. held on one day or are they spread over a number of days?

Answer. The Election Regulations provide that elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be held in the course of one day, which shall be the same throughout the U.S.S.R. The elections are held on a Sunday, otherwise part of the electorate would be unable to participate in voting.

In some bourgeois countries, on the contrary, elections are held on week days, with a view to preventing working people from participating in elections.

Question 53. Where does polling take place?

Answer. Polling takes place on premises specially set aside for the purpose. Every day, for a period of twenty days prior to the elections, the ward election commissions publish, or otherwise make generally known

to the electors, the place of voting as well as the date of the elections.

Question 54. What are the polling hours?

Answer. Polling takes place from 6 a.m. until midnight local time. At 6 a.m. on election day the chairman of each ward election commission examines the ballot boxes in the presence of the members of the commission and ascertains that there is a list of voters compiled in the prescribed form, whereupon he seals the boxes with the seal of the commission and invites the electors to vote.

At midnight on election day, the chairman of the ward election commission declares polling terminated, and the commission proceeds to open the ballot boxes and count the votes.

Question 55. How does polling take place?

Answer. Every elector votes personally at the polling station. There he presents to the secretary or any other authorized member of the ward election commission his passport, or collective-farm or trade-union membership card, or some other evidence of identity. After his name is checked in the voters' list and an entry made in the list, recording the issue of ballot papers, he is given ballot papers of the prescribed form.

He then proceeds to a special room, a booth, to fill in the ballots. There, in the absence of members of the ward election commission or any other persons, he leaves the name of the candidate he votes for and crosses out the names of the others. Thence he proceeds to the room where the ward election commission is located and drops his ballot papers into the ballot box.

Question 56. Can a number of electors be simultaneously admitted to the room set aside for filling in the ballot papers?

Answer. Yes. In this case, to ensure the secrecy of balloting, the law requires that the room set aside for filling ballot papers be fitted with partitions or screens and divided into booths according to the number of voters admitted simultaneously, so that one elector may not see what is done by the other.

Question 57. How do illiterates vote?

Answer. The law provides illiterates with every opportunity to participate in voting. An illiterate voter is entitled to invite any other voter to enter the room set aside for filling ballot papers and help him to fill his ballot papers.

Question 58. What is the method of voting for invalids or persons unable owing to physical disability to fill the ballot papers themselves?

Answer. For this category of voters, as is the case with illiterates, the law provides the necessary voting conditions by permitting them to invite any other voter into the room assigned for filling ballot papers so as to fill their ballot papers with that person's help.

Question 59. Is electioneering work permitted during the hours of voting?

Answer. The Election Regulations say that every organization nominating a candidate registered with a district election commission, in the same way as every citizen of the U.S.S.R., is ensured the right freely to canvass in favour of that candidate at meetings, through the press, and in other ways.

Electioneering is forbidden only at the polling stations on polling day. This is done so that no one shall exercise any influence on electors at the time of voting.

Chapter VIII COUNTING THE VOTES

Question 60. How does the ward election commissions conduct the count?

Answer. The Election Regulations contain the following rules: at midnight local time on election day, the chairman of the ward election commission declares polling terminated, and the commission proceeds to open the ballot boxes. The right to attend the counting of votes on the premises of the election ward is extended to representatives of public organizations and societies of the working people, specially authorized for the purpose, and to representatives of the press. Having opened the ballot boxes, the ward election commission checks the number of ballots cast with the number of persons who received them and enters the result in an official record. When the ballot papers have been checked, the chairman announces in the presence of all the members of the commission the results of the vote cast by each ballot paper. The votes cast are counted separately for the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

When the counting of the votes cast for each candidate is completed, the commission draws up official records in the prescribed form and announces the results in the presence of all its members, i.e., informs them of the total number of votes cast for each candidate.

These official records are signed by all the members of the ward election commission, the signatures of the chairman and the secretary being indispensable.

Question 61. Can a ward election commission declare ballot papers invalid?

Answer. Yes, it can do so if the ballot papers contain the names of more candidates than the number of depu-

ties to be elected, and also if the papers are not printed in the prescribed form.

Question 62. Why are such ballot papers declared invalid?

Answer. If a ballot paper contains the names of several candidates and a voter leaves the names of, say, two of them, it will not be clear to the election commission which of the two candidates the voter wants to elect. Such a ballot paper will be declared invalid. Every voter must, therefore, choose one candidate from those whose names are entered in the ballot paper, i.e., leave only that candidate's name, striking out the other names.

Ballot papers not made out in the prescribed form are declared invalid for the simple reason that the polling of such ballot papers may entail various abuses, and also because the secrecy of the ballot may be violated; such papers make it possible to reveal the identity of the voter and by the same token to establish for whom the elector in question voted. Hence, the Central Election Commission prescribes a definite form of ballot paper, and the Election Regulations establish that ballot papers in any other form are null and void.

Question 63. How do the district election commissions conduct the count?

Answer. The district election commissions conduct the count on the basis of the official records submitted by the ward election commissions and then determine the number of votes cast in the election district for each candidate. The official records of the vote, drawn up by the district election commission, are signed by all its members, the signatures of its chairman and secretary being indispensable.

Question 64. What does the official record of the district election commission indicate?

Answer. The official voting record of the district election commission indicates:

- a) The number of ward election commissions in the district;
- b) The number of ward election commissions that have submitted official records;
- c) The number of electors in the district;
- d) The number of voters who received ballot papers;
- e) The number of electors who have voted;
- f) The number of ballot papers declared invalid;
- g) The number of ballot papers in which the names of all candidates have been struck out;
- h) The number of votes cast for each candidate;
- i) A brief summary of the claims and complaints submitted to the district election commission, and the decisions adopted by the district election commission.

Question 65. How is supervision of the work of ward and district election commissions ensured?

Answer. As stated above, the right to be present in the room where the votes are counted by the ward election commission is extended to representatives of public organizations and societies of the working people, specially authorized for the purpose, and to representatives of the press.

Attendance by representatives of the Soviet public makes for better supervision by electors of how the members of election commissions observe the rules of counting votes and helps preclude any possibility of error and, above all, abuses.

Representatives of public organizations, of the press, and of societies of the working people may also attend the counting of votes by district election commissions.

Both ward and district election commissions must briefly set forth in their official records the claims and

complaints submitted and the respective decisions adopted by them.

The official records of the ward election commissions are transmitted to the respective district election commissions; the official records of the district Soviet of the Union election commissions are sent to the Central Election Commission, while the records of the district Soviet of Nationalities election commissions are sent to the respective Soviet of Nationalities election commission of the Union or Autonomous Republic, Autonomous Region or National Area. This enables the higher-level election commissions to check the work of the ward and district commissions.

Question 66. Which candidate for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is considered elected?

Answer. The candidate for the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is considered elected provided he has polled an absolute majority of the votes, or more than half the total number of the valid votes cast in the district.

Question 67. Is the candidate who polls an absolute majority of the votes regarded as being elected in any case?

Answer. No. Should the number of votes cast in a district be less than half the number of the electors entitled to vote in the given district, the election will be declared void. Hence, a candidate polling an absolute majority of the votes in such an election is not regarded as being elected, since the number of votes cast is less than half the number of the electors in the given election district.

In some countries elections are deemed valid even if only 30 per cent of the electorate goes to the poll. According to Soviet law this is impermissible and such practices are out of the question.

Question 68. Does the Soviet electoral law permit re-balloting of candidates?

Answer. Yes, it does. Re-balloting is conducted if none of the candidates in the given election district polls an absolute majority of votes, i.e., if each receives less than half the number of the votes cast.

When this occurs, a re-balloting is ordered not of all the candidates contesting the district but of the two candidates who received the largest number of votes.

Question 69. Who orders the re-balloting and what is the time-limit for it?

Answer. Re-balloting is ordered by the district Soviet of the Union election commission, or by the district Soviet of Nationalities election commission, as the case may be, and takes place not later than two weeks after the date of the first ballot.

Question 70. What is to be done if the number of votes cast is less than half the number of the electors in the given election district?

Answer. If in any district the number of votes cast is less than half the number of electors entitled to vote in that district, new elections are ordered. In this case the district election commission makes a note to that effect in the official record and immediately informs the Central Election Commission and the Soviet of Nationalities election commission of the Union or Autonomous Republic, Autonomous Region or National Area.

The Central Election Commission orders new elections to be held not later than two weeks after the date of the first elections.

Question 71. What is to be done when for one reason or another a seat in the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. falls vacant?

Answer. In this case the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. appoints a date for the election of a new deputy for the district concerned, to be held not later than two months after the seat in the Supreme Soviet falls vacant.

Re-balloting or new elections are conducted on the basis of the lists of voters drawn up for the first elections.

Question 72. In what way are electoral rights protected by law?

Answer. The Election Regulations contain two articles which stipulate that anyone who seeks to prevent Soviet citizens from exercising their electoral rights shall be severely punished.

Article 109 of the Election Regulations reads as follows: "Any person who by violence, fraud, intimidation or bribery hinders a citizen of the U.S.S.R. in the exercise of his right to elect and be elected to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. shall be liable to a term of imprisonment of up to two years."

And Article 110 of the Election Regulations says: "Any official of a Soviet or member of an election commission guilty of falsifying election documents, or of deliberately falsifying the count, shall be liable to a term of imprisonment of up to three years."

* * *

Such is the content of the "Regulations Governing Elections to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R." which guarantee the genuinely universal character of elections. The Election Regulations provide all the necessary conditions for holding elections to the supreme legislative body of the U.S.S.R. strictly in keeping with the great principles of the Constitution of the land of Soviets, which, under the leadership of the Communist Party, is stepping out confidently towards communism.

**HOW TO BE
A GOOD COMMUNIST**
LIU SHAO-CHI

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LIU SHAO-CHI

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A GOOD COMMUNIST

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How to Be a Good Communist

*(A series of lectures delivered by Liu Shao-chi in July
1939 at the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Yenan)*

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

COMRADES! I MUST APOLOGISE. It is quite some time since you asked me to give you a talk but I have had to delay coming until today. The question I am going to talk about is the cultivation of Communist Party members. I think that it may not be unprofitable for us to talk about this question at a time when we are facing the basic task of building and consolidating the Party. I want to divide my talk into several parts, so today I shall deal with one part only, leaving the rest for next time. In order to enable many of the younger comrades to understand, I shall have to give more explanations and examples on certain questions. Consequently, I cannot make my talk very succinct. This I must make clear at the very beginning.

Why Must Communist Party Members Undertake Self-cultivation?

Comrades, why must Communist Party members undertake self-cultivation?

Ever since man came into the world, in order to be able to live, he has had to struggle against nature to produce the material values essential to his existence. However,

men carry on a struggle against nature and utilise nature for the production of material values not in isolation from each other, not as separate individuals, but in common, in groups, in societies. Production, therefore, is at all times and under all conditions social production. In the production of material values men enter into mutual relations of one kind or another within production, into relations of production of one kind or another. (*The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) Short Course*, English edition, 1951, pp. 188-189)

Thus, the struggle carried on by men against nature for production is social in character. It is a struggle of men as social beings against nature. It is in this ceaseless struggle against nature that human beings have been continuously changing nature and simultaneously themselves and have changed their relations with one another. It is in the course of the long struggle of men as social beings against nature, that men's physical forms (hands, feet, posture, etc.), their social relations, their forms of social organisation as well as their brains, ideology, etc. are all continuously being changed and improved. This is because:

The first feature of production is that it never stays at one point for a long time and is always in a state of change and development, and that, furthermore, changes in the mode of production inevitably call forth changes in the whole social system, social ideas, political views and political institutions. (*Ibid* pp. 189-190)

Man has evolved from animals. In ancient times, man's mode of life, social organisation and ideology, etc. were different from what they are today. In the future, man's mode of life, social organisation, ideology, etc. will also be different from what they are today.

Humanity itself and human society are a kind of process of historical evolution. They are developing and changing and they can be, and have already been, continuously changed in the course of struggle.

When human society developed to a certain historical stage, class society arose. Thereafter, men in a class society exist as men of a given class. According to the principles of Marxist philosophy, men's social being determines their ideology. Thus, in a class society men's ideology represents the ideology of a given social class. In a class society there are ceaseless class struggles. Thus, in the course of constant struggle against nature and constant struggle of social classes, men change nature, change society and at the same time change their own ideology.

Marx once told the workers:

You will have to go through fifteen, twenty, fifty years of civil wars and international conflicts, not only to change existing conditions, but also to change yourselves and to make yourselves capable of wielding political power.

In other words, men change themselves not only in their struggle against nature but also in constant social struggle. The proletariat will also have to consciously go

through a long period of social struggle to change society and itself.

Thus, men should regard themselves as being in need of, and capable of, being changed. They should not look upon themselves as something unchanging, perfect, holy and beyond reform. It is in no way an insult but the inevitable law of natural and social evolution; otherwise, men cannot make progress.

We Communist Party members are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history and are the contemporary fighting and driving force in changing society and the world. Revolutionaries exist because counter-revolutionaries still exist. Therefore, to conduct a ceaseless struggle against the counter-revolutionaries constitutes an essential condition for the existence and development of the revolutionaries. If they fail to carry on such a struggle, they cannot be called revolutionaries and still less can they advance and develop. It is in the course of this ceaseless struggle against the counter-revolutionaries that Communist Party members change society, change the world and at the same time change themselves.

A Communist Party member changes himself through his struggle against counter-revolution in various fields. It means that to achieve one's own progress and to raise one's revolutionary qualities and technique requires the unification of the following two aspects: one's steeling in the practical struggle and the cultivation of one's ideas. To pass from a novice to a mature and well-experienced revolutionary able to cope with any situation calls for a

very long process of revolutionary steeling and cultivation, that is, a long process of reformation. A comparatively inexperienced revolutionary is still unable to acquire a really profound understanding of the enemy, of himself, of the laws of social development and the laws of the revolution because he has grown up in the old society and naturally has brought with him remnants of various ideologies, prejudices and habits of the old society and because he is still inexperienced and has not yet undergone a long period of revolutionary practice.

In order to change this situation, besides studying revolutionary experiences from history (the practice of our predecessors) he must himself participate in the contemporary revolutionary practice. In this revolutionary practice, that is, in the struggle against various counter-revolutionary elements, he should develop his subjective initiative and redouble his efforts in study and cultivation. Only then will he be able to gradually learn from his experience and to understand more profoundly the laws of social development and the laws of the revolution; be able to understand the enemy and himself; be able to discover the incorrectness of his own former ideas, habits and prejudices and to correct them; be able to raise the level of his consciousness, and his revolutionary qualities and improve his revolutionary methods, etc. Therefore, in order to change himself and raise the level of his consciousness, a revolutionary should not of course isolate himself from revolutionary practice, or abandon his own subjective efforts to carry on self-cultivation and to learn through practice (both his own practice and that

of others). Without the latter it will still be impossible for a revolutionary to improve himself.

For example, several Communist Party members go together to take part in a certain revolutionary mass struggle, undergo almost the same revolutionary practice and yet in the end the influence exerted on these Party members might be entirely different. Some may advance very quickly and some formerly backward members may even overtake others. Some may advance very slowly. Others may even begin to vacillate in the course of the struggle, and the revolutionary practice, instead of enabling them to advance, has left them behind. What is the cause of all this?

Again for example, many of our Communist Party members took part in the Long March, which was a severe test for our Party members and which exercised an extremely progressive and positive influence among Party members and even among the broad masses of the people. However, in the case of a very small number of Party members the influence was just the opposite. Having gone through the hard struggle of the Long March and the ten years' Civil War, they grew fearful of this hard struggle. They attempted to retreat and run away. Finally, they deserted the revolutionary ranks as a result of outside inducement. Many Party members took part in the Long March and yet the influence upon them and the results thus obtained were vastly different. What is the cause of all this?

This is because these Party members possessed different revolutionary qualities, because they developed in different directions in revolutionary practice and because they differed in their subjective efforts in revolutionary practice, and in their degree and methods of self-cultivation. Because of the different qualities possessed by revolutionaries and the variation in their subjective efforts and self-cultivation, it is possible that in the same revolutionary practice, entirely different or even opposite results and influences may ensue. Such cases can be found even in your school. In the school you all receive the same kind of education and training. However, because of your different qualities, experiences, cultural levels, subjective efforts and the degree and methods of self-cultivation, you may get different or even opposite results. Have you not noticed that a small number of people have moved further away from the revolution after receiving education and training in schools in Yen-an? This is due to the same cause. Hence, for a revolutionary to change and improve himself, subjective effort, self-cultivation and learning in the course of the revolutionary struggle are absolutely necessary and indispensable.

Not every revolutionary who has undergone the steeling of long years of revolutionary struggle can develop into a very good and experienced revolutionary, chiefly because his own efforts and self-cultivation are insufficient. But all those who have succeeded in becoming very good and experienced revolutionaries must certainly have gone through long years of steeling and self-cultivation in the revolutionary struggle. Hence, our

Party members can make themselves politically inflexible revolutionaries of high quality only by steeling themselves, strengthening their self-cultivation, not losing their sense of the new and by improving their reasoning power in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses under all difficulties and hardships.

Confucius said:

At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning. At thirty, I stood firm. At forty, I had no doubts. At fifty, I knew the decree of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow my heart's desire, without transgressing what was right.

Here Confucius was relating the process of his steeling and self-cultivation. He did not regard himself as a born 'sage'.

Mencius said:

When Heaven is about to confer a great office on any man, it first exercises his mind with suffering, and his sinews and bones with toil. It exposes his body to hunger, and subjects him to extreme poverty. It confounds his undertakings. By all these methods it stimulates his mind, hardens his nature, and remedies his incompetencies.

What Mencius said also refers to the process of steeling and self-cultivation that a great man must undergo. As Communist Party members have to shoulder the unprecedentedly 'great office' of changing the world, it is all the more necessary for them to go through such steeling and self-cultivation.

The cultivation of Communist Party members is a revolutionary cultivation. We cannot carry on our cultivation by divorcing ourselves from revolutionary practice or the practical revolutionary movement of the broad toiling masses, particularly the proletarian masses. The aim of our cultivation is solely to serve the interests of revolutionary practice and to direct more effectively the practical revolutionary movement of the masses. Herein lies the difference between our cultivation and other idealistic, formal and abstract cultivations which are divorced from social practice. I shall make a further brief explanation on this point later on.

Our Party members should steel themselves and intensify their self-cultivation not only in the course of arduous, difficult and even unsuccessful revolutionary practice but also in the course of favourable, successful and victorious revolutionary practice. Some Party members cannot keep their balance when they are heartened by success and victory and become dizzy with victories. Victory, success, the tribute paid them by the broad masses of the people as well as a certain amount of prestige which they enjoy among the masses make them unscrupulous, arrogant, bureaucratic or even vacillating, corrupt and degenerate, thus completely losing their former revolutionary spirit.

These are individual cases which are frequently found among our Communist Party members. The existence of such phenomena within the Party should serve as a serious warning to our Party members for it was almost an inevitable rule that such phenomena

existed among the revolutionaries of past generations. But such phenomena definitely will not be tolerated in our Party. The revolutionaries of past generations, prior to the success and victory of the revolution and their own success and victory, were able to represent the demands of the progressive and oppressed masses and retain their revolutionary qualities, but as soon as the revolution and they themselves were crowned with success and victory they would more often than not become corrupt, bureaucratic and degenerate, thus losing their revolutionary qualities and their progressive character and becoming obstacles to the revolution and social evolution.

We know that many revolutionaries in China in the past hundred years, or more recently in the past fifty years, began to show signs of corruption and degeneration the moment they had achieved a certain measure of success and risen to some responsible position. This is due to the class basis of those revolutionaries of past generations. Because the revolutionaries of the past represented the exploiting classes they naturally turned around and oppressed the exploited masses after the victory of their revolution and thus became obstacles to the continuous progress of the revolution and social evolution. It is an inevitable rule that the revolutionaries of the past would become corrupt, bureaucratic and even degenerate and lose their revolutionary qualities after the victory and success of the revolution.

However, this cannot and will not be the case with us Communists. As the exploited proletariat which we represent does not exploit anybody, it can carry on the

revolution to the very end, completely liberate mankind as a whole and eventually make a clean sweep of all forms of corruption, bureaucracy and degeneracy in human society. It can build up a party and State apparatus with strict organisation and discipline for the purpose of carrying on an irreconcilable struggle against all forms of corruption, bureaucracy and degeneracy and to ceaselessly purge the Party and the State apparatus of those elements who are corrupt, bureaucratic and degenerate in their work (no matter what 'big-wigs' such elements are), so that the purity of the Party and the State apparatus can be preserved.

This outstanding feature of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat was not, and could not be, found in any of the revolutionary parties of the past. Therefore, our Party members must clearly understand this outstanding feature and see to it that even in the course of the success and victory of the revolution and in the course of the infinite rise of our popularity and authority special care is taken to intensify our self-cultivation and preserve to the last our pure revolutionary qualities so as to avoid going the way of the revolutionaries of the past who became degenerate after they had been crowned with success.

Such revolutionary steeling and cultivation are important for every one of our Party members and particularly so for those new Party members of non-proletarian origin. Why are they particularly important for new Party members of non-proletarian origin? (1)

Precisely because such Party members are of non-proletarian origin. Lenin said that Party members of worker origin have the innate qualities of the proletariat. It follows then that Party members of other class origin naturally have the innate qualities of other classes. Although they have now accepted the Communist ideology, they more or less still retain remnants of non-Communist ideology and habits. (2) Precisely because they are new Party members and have not yet undergone much steeling. Therefore, they have to steel and cultivate themselves in the course of the revolutionary struggle before they can become good revolutionaries.

Steeling and cultivation are important for every Party member, whether he be a new member of non-proletarian origin or even a veteran member or a member of proletarian origin. This is because our Communist Party did not drop from the heavens but was born out of Chinese society and because every member of our Party came from this squalid old society of China and are still living in this society today. Hence, our Party members have more or less brought with them remnants of the ideology and habits of the old society and they remain in constant association with all the squalid things of the old society. We are still in need of steeling and cultivation in every respect for the sake of enhancing and preserving our purity as the proletarian vanguard and for the sake of raising our social qualities and revolutionary technique.

That is the reason why Communist Party members must undertake self-cultivation.

Strive to Become the Best Pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin

To become a Communist Party member one is only required to possess the qualifications as laid down in the Party Constitution—namely, any person may become a member of the Party who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, pays Party membership dues and undertakes assigned tasks in one of the Party's organisations. These are the minimum qualifications that every Party member must possess. Without these qualifications one cannot become a Party member. But every one of our Party members should not merely be a member of minimum qualifications, should not merely be satisfied with and should not confine himself to these minimum qualifications but should rather seek to make progress and ceaselessly raise his own consciousness and understanding of Marxism-Leninism. This is also a duty to the Party and to the revolution, which must not be shirked by any member of the Party. This duty has also been included in the new Party Constitution recently adopted by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B). However, in order to fulfil this duty satisfactorily our Party members must intensify their own steeling and cultivation.

Therefore, the goal of Party members in steeling and cultivation should not merely be the standard of minimum qualifications but should be the standard of maximum qualifications. At present we find it very difficult to define these maximum qualifications. However, we have before us the words and deeds, the achievements and

qualities of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin throughout their lives as our examples and as the criterion of our cultivation. By cultivation is meant raising our own qualities in every respect to the same level as those of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Let us strive to become their best pupils. In his speech concerning the elections to the Supreme Soviet Comrade Stalin said:

The electors, the people, must demand that their Deputies should remain equal to their tasks; that in their work they should not sink to the level of political philistines; that in their posts they should remain political figures of the Lenin type; that as public figures they should be as clear and definite as Lenin was; that they should be as fearless in battle and as merciless towards the enemies of the people as Lenin was; that they should be free from all panic, from any semblance of panic as Lenin was, when things begin to get complicated and some danger or other looms on the horizon; that they should be as wise and deliberate in deciding complex problems requiring a comprehensive orientation and a comprehensive weighing of all pros and cons as Lenin was; that they should be as upright and honest as Lenin was; that they should love their people as Lenin did.

This is a simple description of how to learn from Lenin, a picture of Lenin's best pupil. The cultivation of Communist Party members is for the purpose of learning from Lenin exactly in such a way in order to be such a pupil of Lenin.

Some say that it is impossible to acquire the great qualities of revolutionary geniuses like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and that it is also impossible to raise our own qualities to the same level as that of Marx,

Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They regard Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as mysterious beings by birth. Is it correct to say this? I think not.

For so long as our comrades genuinely, resolutely, consciously and consistently take up their stand as the vanguard fighting for the liberation of the proletariat, have a truly Communist outlook on life and world outlook, and never divorce themselves for a single moment from the present-day great and profound revolutionary movements of the proletariat and the masses of the people, and make great efforts to learn, and to steel and cultivate themselves, they will be perfectly able to raise their qualities and become as 'clear and definite', as 'fearless in battle and merciless towards the enemies of the people', as 'free from all panic and from any semblance of panic' amidst difficulties and dangers, and as 'upright and honest' as Lenin was, and to 'love the people' as Lenin did, and they will also be perfectly able to employ the Marxist-Leninist method and approach in solving complicated problems, in thinking over the problems from all angles and in weighing all pros and cons notwithstanding the fact that today our ordinary comrades are far from having such great talents, such wide scientific knowledge, such an environment and good stamina for learning as had Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and that a great many of our comrades cannot expect to achieve such profound erudition in the study of the theory of the proletarian revolution as did Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. In other words, so long as we are determined to study hard, and cultivate and steel ourselves, do not

divorce ourselves from the revolutionary movement of the masses of the people, and master the method of Marxism-Leninism, we will be perfectly able to raise our qualities to the level of those of the statesmen of the Lenin type, so that in our work and struggle we can employ the style of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, that is, to 'remain political figures of the Lenin type' and not to 'sink to the level of political philistines.'

Mencius said: 'Everybody can be a Yao or a Shun.*' It means the same thing. We should not resign ourselves to despair and hesitate to go ahead when we first perceive the qualities of such great revolutionaries as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. To do so is to become just such a 'political philistine,' 'rotten wood that cannot be carved,' and 'a mud wall.'

But different kinds of people adopt different kinds of attitudes towards learning from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

The first kind learns from Marx and Lenin without penetrating into the essence of Marxism-Leninism but merely acquires a smattering of Marxism-Leninism. Although they read Marxist-Leninist literature over and

* Yao and Shun are legendary figures in ancient Chinese history renowned for their benevolence and wisdom.

† Ninth Chapter of the *Book of Confucian Analects*: "T'ai Yu being asleep during the daytime, Confucius said, 'Rotten wood cannot be carved; a mud wall will not receive the trowel. This Yu!— What is the use of my reproving him?'"

over again and learn by heart many ready-made principles and conclusions from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, yet they are unable to flexibly apply these principles and conclusions as methods to solve existing concrete and practical problems. They feel content with reciting these principles and conclusions, which they jot down and make use of mechanically. Although they work under the banner of Marxism and consider themselves as 'genuine' Marxists, nevertheless they are not genuine Marxists and their methods of work are exactly the opposite of Marxism-Leninism.

Comrade Stalin wrote in an article in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of Lenin's birthday:

There are two groups of Marxists. Both work under the banner of Marxism and consider themselves 'genuine' Marxists. Nevertheless, they are by no means identical. More, a veritable gulf divides them, for their methods of work are diametrically opposed to each other.

The first group usually confines itself to an outward acceptance, to a ceremonial avowal of Marxism. Being unable or unwilling to grasp the essence of Marxism, being unable or unwilling to translate it into reality, it converts the living and revolutionary principles of Marxism into lifeless and meaningless formulas. It does not base its activities on experience, on what practical work teaches, but on quotations from Marx. It does not derive its conclusions and directions from an analysis of actual realities, but from analogies and historical parallels. Discrepancy between word and deed is the chief malady of this group.

This is one kind of attitude towards learning from Marx and Lenin,

The first kind of people once constituted a not inconsiderable number within the Communist Party of China. The worst representatives among them were even worse than those mentioned above. In fact, they never really had any intention of 'studying' Marxism-Leninism. They did not concern themselves with the great proletarian character and the supreme qualities of Marx and Lenin. They attempted to imitate in a superficial way certain styles of Marx and Lenin, picked up at random some Marxist-Leninist terminology, regarded themselves as the Marx and Lenin of China, posed as Marx and Lenin within the Party, and had the impudence to ask our Party members to respect them as we do Marx and Lenin, to support them as 'leaders' and to offer them loyalty and devotion. They also made bold to appoint themselves as 'leaders,' climbed into responsible positions without waiting to be nominated by others, issued orders like patriarchs within the Party, attempted to teach our Party, abused everything within the Party and wilfully attacked, punished and rode roughshod over Party members. This kind of people had no intention of 'studying' Marxism-Leninism or fighting for the realisation of Marxism-Leninism but rather they were opportunists within the Party and brokers and black sheep in the cause of Communism. It is beyond doubt that this kind of people within the Party should be opposed, exposed and buried in oblivion by our Party members. And our Party members have already buried them in oblivion. However, can we say with full confidence that there are no more people of this kind within the Party? We cannot yet say so.

The second kind of people is just the opposite of the first. They regard themselves first and foremost as pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and try to master the essence, spirit and methods which made Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin what they are. They look up to the great personal characteristics of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and their qualities as proletarian revolutionaries and painstakingly carry on their own cultivation in the course of the revolutionary struggle and examine themselves to see whether their way of dealing with matters and people and the way they themselves behave are in conformity with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. They likewise read over and over again the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin; but they lay great emphasis on analysing the living realities, ponder upon the special features of all aspects of the situation facing the proletariat at the time and in the country in which they live and draw their own conclusions therefrom. They do not content themselves with committing to memory the principles and conclusions of Marxism-Leninism but strive to stand firm on Marxism-Leninism and master the methods of Marxism-Leninism and put them into practice in order that they may energetically direct all revolutionary struggles, change the existing state of affairs and at the same time change themselves. Their entire activities and the whole of their lives are guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and are aimed at one thing—the victory of the proletariat, national liberation, the liberation of mankind, the success of Communism, and nothing else.

Comrade Stalin said:

The second group, on the other hand, attaches prime importance not to the outward acceptance of Marxism, but to its realisation, its translation into reality. What this group chiefly concentrates its attention on is determining the ways and means of realising Marxism that best answer the situation and changing these ways and means as the situation changes—to this group may be fully applied Marx's saying that Marxists cannot rest content with interpreting the world, but must go farther and change it. This group is known as the Bolsheviks, the Communists.

This is another attitude towards learning from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin.

Only the second attitude is correct. Only by adopting this attitude towards studying Marxism-Leninism can one avoid the mistake of 'drawing a tiger which looks like a dog' and improve one's own qualities so as to become a proletarian, Communist revolutionary of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin type.

Those who really carry on painstaking self-cultivation and who are faithful pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin pay special attention to nothing other than the mastery of the Marxist-Leninist standpoint and methods and the solution of various problems facing the proletariat in the revolution in the same manner as did Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Apart from this, they don't care whether their position and prestige within the Party are high or low simply on that account. They never claim to be the Marx or Lenin of China and never demand or harbour any illusion that others should respect them

as they respect Marx and Lenin. They do not consider themselves entitled to such a right and they know that to think so would be betraying Marx and Lenin and sinking to the level of political philistines. However, it is precisely because of this and because of their courage and unrivalled ability in the revolutionary struggle that they win spontaneous respect and support from the rank and file of the Party.

Comrades! Of course it is no easy matter to take Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin as our models in self-cultivation and to become their most faithful and best pupils. It calls for an iron will and firm determination in the arduous struggle for the cause of the proletariat. It calls for a life-long devotion to studying Marxism-Leninism and putting it into practice in the course of the revolutionary struggles of the broad masses, and for steeling and cultivation in every aspect.

The Aspects and Methods of Cultivation

Comrades! In order to become the most faithful and best pupils of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin we need to carry on cultivation in all aspects in the course of the long and great revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and the masses of the people. We need to carry on cultivation in the theories of Marxism-Leninism and in applying such theories in practice; cultivation in revolutionary strategy and tactics; cultivation in studying and dealing with various problems according to the standpoint and methods of Marxism-Leninism; cultivation in ideology and moral character; cultivation in Party unity,

inner-Party struggle and discipline; cultivation in hard work and in the style of work; cultivation in being skilful in dealing with different kinds of people and in associating with the masses of the people and cultivation in various kinds of scientific knowledge, etc. We are all Communist Party members and so we have a general cultivation in common. But there exists a wide discrepancy today between our Party members. Wide discrepancy exists among us in the level of political consciousness, in work, in position, in cultural level, in experience of struggle and in social origin. Therefore, in addition to cultivation in general we also need special cultivation for different groups and for individual comrades.

Accordingly, there should be different kinds of methods and forms of cultivation. For example, many of our comrades keep a diary in order to have a daily check on their work and thoughts or they write down on small posters their personal defects and what they hope to achieve and paste them up where they work or live, together with the photographs of persons they look up to and ask comrades for criticism and supervision. In ancient China, there were many methods of cultivation. There was Tseng Tze* who said: 'I reflect on myself three times a day.' *The Book of Odes* has it that one should cultivate oneself 'as a lapidary cuts and files, carves and polishes.' Another method was 'to examine oneself by self-reflection' and to 'write down some mottoes on the right hand side of one's desk' or 'on one's girdle'

* A disciple of Confucius

as daily reminders of rules of personal conduct. The Chinese scholars of the Confucian school had a number of methods for the cultivation of their body and mind. Every religion has various methods and forms of cultivation of its own. The 'investigation of things, the extension of knowledge, sincerity of thought, the rectification of the heart, the cultivation of the person, the regulation of the family, the ordering well of the state and the making tranquil of the whole kingdom' as set forth in *The Great Learning** also means the same. All this shows that in achieving one's progress one must make serious and energetic efforts to carry on self-cultivation and study. However, many of these methods and forms cannot be adopted by us because most of them are idealistic, formalistic, abstract and divorced from social practice. These scholars and religious believers exaggerate the function of subjective initiative, thinking that so long as they keep their general 'good intentions' and are devoted to silent prayer they will be able to change the existing state of affairs, change society and change themselves under conditions separated from social and revolutionary practice. This is, of course, absurd. We cannot cultivate ourselves in this way. We are materialists and our cultivation cannot be separated from practice.

What is important to us is that we must not under any circumstances isolate ourselves from the revolution-

* *The Great Learning* is said to be 'a Book handed down by the Confucian school, which forms the gate by which beginners enter into virtue.'

ary struggles of different kinds of people and in different forms at a given moment and that we must, moreover, sum up historical revolutionary experience and learn humbly from this and put it into practice. That is to say, we must undertake self-cultivation and steel ourselves in the course of our own practice, basing ourselves on the experiences of past revolutionary practice, on the present concrete situation and on new experiences. Our self-cultivation and steeling are for no other purpose than that of revolutionary practice. That is to say, we must modestly try to understand the standpoint, the method and the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, and understand how Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin dealt with people. And having understood these, we should immediately apply them to our own practice, i.e., in our own lives, words, deeds and work. Moreover, we should stick to them and unreservedly correct and purge everything in our ideology that runs counter to them, thereby strengthening our own proletarian and Communist ideology and qualities. That is to say, we must modestly listen to the opinions and criticisms of our comrades and of the masses, carefully study the practical problems in our lives and in our work and carefully sum up our experiences and the lessons we have learnt so as to find an orientation for our own work. In addition, on the basis of all these, we must judge whether we have a correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism and whether we have correctly applied the method of Marxism-Leninism, found out our own shortcomings and mistakes and corrected them. At the same time, we must find out in what respects specific conclusions of Marxism-Leninism need to be supplement-

ed, enriched and developed on the basis of well-digested new experiences. That is to say, we must combine the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution.

These should be the methods of self-cultivation of us Communist Party members. That is to say, we must use the methods of Marxism-Leninism to cultivate ourselves. This kind of cultivation is entirely different from other kinds of cultivation which are idealistic and are divorced from social practice.

In this connection, we cannot but oppose certain idle talk and mechanicalism on the question of cultivation and steeling.

First of all, we must oppose and resolutely eliminate one of the biggest evils bequeathed to us by the education and learning in the old society—the separation of theory from practice. In the course of education and study in the old society many people thought that it was unnecessary or even impossible to act upon what they had learned. Despite the fact that they read over and over again books by ancient sages they did things the sages would have been loath to do. Despite the fact that in everything they wrote or said they preached righteousness and morality they acted like out-and-out robbers and harlots in everything they did. Some 'high-ranking officials' issued orders for the reading of the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics** yet in their everyday adminis-

* The *Four Books* and *Five Classics* are nine ancient Chinese classics of philosophy, history, poetry, etc. of the Confucian Canon.

trative work they ruthlessly extorted exorbitant requisitions, ran amuck with corruption and killing, and did everything against righteousness and morality. Some people read the *Three People's Principles* over and over again and could recite the *Will of Dr. Sun Yat-sen*, yet they oppressed the people, opposed the nations who treated us on an equal footing, and went so far as to compromise with or surrender to the national enemy. Once a scholar of the old school told me himself that the only maxim of Confucius that he could observe was: 'To him food can never be too dainty; minced meat can never be too fine,' adding that all the rest of the teachings of Confucius he could not observe and had never proposed to observe. Then why did they still want to carry on educational work and study the teachings of the sages? Apart from utilising them for window-dressing purposes, their objects were: (1) to make use of these teachings to oppress the exploited and to make use of righteousness and morality for the purpose of hoodwinking and suppressing the culturally backward people, (2) to attempt thereby to secure better government jobs, make money and achieve fame and reflect credit on their parents. Apart from these objects, their actions were not restricted by the sages' teachings. This was the attitude and return of the 'men of letters' and 'scholars' of the old society to the sages they 'worshipped.' Of course we Communist Party members cannot adopt such an attitude in studying Marxism-Leninism and the excellent and useful teachings bequeathed to us by our ancient sages. We must live up to what we say. We are honest and pure and we cannot deceive ourselves, the people or our predecessors. This is

an outstanding characteristic as well as a great merit of us Communist Party members.

Comrades! Is it not possible that the evil legacy of the old society still exerts some influence upon us? It does influence us. Among you students there are, of course, none who try to study Marxism for the sake of obtaining higher government posts, making money or oppressing the exploited. You are studying Marxism for the sake of eliminating the system of exploitation of man by man. However, I cannot guarantee that you have lived up to all that you have learnt. Are there none among you who think in the following way? That is to say that their thoughts, words, deeds and lives need not be guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and that the principles they have learnt need not be put into practice. Again are there none among you who think that they study Marxism-Leninism and study profound theory in order that they may get promotion, to show themselves off and to make themselves celebrities? I have no guarantee that there are absolutely none among you who think this way. Yet this way of thinking does not conform to Marxism and it represents a gap between Marxist theory and Marxist practice. We have no objection to the study of theory and moreover we must study theory, but what we have learnt we must put into practice. We study for the sole purpose of putting into practice what we have learnt. It is for the Party and for the victory of the revolution that we study.

For example, you have very often shouted the slogan 'combine theory with practice' but have you combined

the theory you have learnt with your own practice? Are there not still some people among you whose practice is entirely divorced from the principles of Marxism-Leninism? It seems that there are still people among you who understand the combination of theory and practice in the following way: They want comrades working outside the school to come to report on their experiences so as to see how others combine theory with practice. This is of course a combination of theory and practice but it is theirs and not yours. I think the fact that you shout the slogan ought to mean that you should combine the theory you study with your own practice. If you do not understand this point in such a way, then what is the use of your shouting the slogan? I will give another example. You have shouted many slogans about the need for steeling yourselves, but are there not some people among you who have shown themselves anything but steeled or have shown that they could not stand up to being steeled when the hour of real test came, when they met with a rebuff, or when they were subjected to criticism and punishment, to the pressure of public opinion, and to the correct or incorrect supervision of the great majority of the people? They forgot that a Communist Party member should have a firm will and clear standpoint, etc. They looked dejected, not knowing what to do. Are these not examples of empty talk about steeling and cultivation?

As a matter of fact, the training you receive and the study you make in school are also forms of steeling and cultivation. We are trying to make you into useful cadres

and Party workers through training and studying in school, not just to get you to learn only some abstract 'theory' and Marxist-Leninist terminology and formulas. Moreover, we want you to cultivate and steel yourselves so as to become cadres who can think correctly, have a firm will and be able to solve in a practical way all kinds of complex problems. However, I have often heard it said that to study in school is not the way to become steeled and that in order to steel and cultivate oneself one must leave school and take up practical work. Comrades! Steeling and cultivation are a life-long and many-sided task. They are needed everywhere at all times and in relation to all problems. We cannot say that we can undertake steeling and cultivation only at certain times, in certain places, in connection with certain matters but not at other times, in other places and in connection with other matters, although we don't deny the fact that Communist Party members should steel and cultivate themselves mainly in the course of the practical struggle of the masses.

That is why we are opposed to idealism, idle talk, and mechanicalism on the problem of cultivation. That is to say we should be able to stand up to being steeled. We should steel ourselves in school, among the masses, and in the struggles both inside and outside the Party. We should study and cultivate ourselves under all circumstances, both of victory and defeat.

The Relation Between the Study of Marxist-Leninist Theory and the Ideological Cultivation of Party Members

Among our Communist Party members a comparatively prevalent way of thinking is the following: The firm and pure proletarian Communist standpoint has nothing to do with a Communist Party member's understanding and mastery of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. They think that although their class standpoint is not very firm and their ideology not very pure (they still retain remnants of the ideology of other classes, and they are still selfish and have worldly desires and so on), they can nevertheless thoroughly understand and master the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism all the same. Some comrades think that it is possible to thoroughly master the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism merely by means of one's own intellect, ability and study. Comrades! This way of thinking is wrong.

Mitin, a Soviet philosopher, is quite right when he says:

As to Marxism....differences in profundity of understanding require a class explanation. For example, at the present time, in the epoch of the decay of capitalism, no matter how talented some ideologist of the bourgeoisie may be, his creative ability, his ability to obtain a penetrating understanding of the laws of development are 'constrained' by his class nature, by the conservatism of the class he represents. The inability of the bourgeoisie to foresee the future, determines, narrows down the limits and reduces the depth of understanding of the phenomena of social development by bourgeois theoreticians. Notwithstanding all their talents, ideologists of those classes which are passing from

the stage of history are not in a position to make really profound scientific conclusions and discoveries. This Marxist truth has been confirmed by the whole history of the development of science and philosophy. (*Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, Part I, p.285 of the Russian edition, edited by M. Mitin. OGIZ. Moscow 1934)

Marxism-Leninism is the science of the proletarian revolution. It can be thoroughly understood and mastered only by those who fully take the proletarian standpoint and who adopt the ideals of the proletariat as their own. It is impossible for anyone to thoroughly understand and master the Marxist science of the proletariat, only by means of his intellect and strenuous study if he lacks the firm standpoint and pure ideals of the proletariat. This is also an obvious truth. Therefore, in studying the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism today it is necessary that our study proceeds simultaneously with our ideological cultivation and steeling because without the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, we should have nothing to guide our thoughts and actions and our ideological cultivation would also be impossible. These two are closely related to each other and are inseparable.

We have often come across some of the best Party members of working class origin who are less developed in the theory of Marxism-Leninism as compared with those who are making a special study of theory. They would certainly prove less proficient if asked to recite Marxist-Leninist formulas or quotations from Marxist-Leninist works. But when it comes to studying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, quite often their interest is keener and their understanding deeper than those Party

members of student origin, provided it is explained to them in words they understand. For example, the chapter in *Capital* dealing with the theory of surplus value is most difficult for some Party members to understand but it is not so difficult for members of working class origin, because workers fully understand how in the process of production the capitalists calculate wages and working hours, how they make profits and how they expand reproduction, etc. Therefore, it often happens that they are able to understand Marx's theory of surplus value more deeply than other Party members. Especially in observing and dealing with various practical problems, they often prove more apt, more correct and more in conformity with the principles of Marxism-Leninism than others. Why is this so? It is because they have the firm, pure proletarian and Communist standpoint and ideals, an objective attitude towards things, and in their minds they have no pre-conceived ideas whatever, no worries about personal problems or about impure matters. Therefore, they can immediately perceive the truth of things and courageously uphold the truth without any hesitation or difficulty.

If among us Communist Party members there are still some whose class standpoint is not very clear-cut and firm, whose ideology is not correct and pure, who still retain to some degree remnants of various kinds of ideology, habits and prejudices of other classes and of the old society and who still have personal interests and private ends and all kinds of worldly desires and selfish ideas, Marxist-Leninist principles and conclusions are

certain to clash with all such things of theirs when they come to study the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. In that case, they will either try to overcome such things of theirs or try to distort the principles and conclusions of Marxism-Leninism to suit their prejudices, thus preventing them from understanding Marxism-Leninism. They will be unable to penetrate deeply into the essence of Marxism-Leninism, to absorb the quintessence of Marxism-Leninism which has a distinct class character and to make this quintessence a weapon of their own because such a weapon has nothing in common with their former class ideology.

Again, when they deal with various practical problems in the course of the proletarian revolution, the solution of these problems in accordance with Marxism-Leninism will often be incompatible with their habits and prejudices and will be in conflict with their personal interests. Under such circumstances, they will show themselves to be petty-minded, irresolute, hesitant and wavering. They will be unable to deal with problems aptly, correctly and in an objective way, or to perceive truth without difficulty or to courageously uphold the truth. They will go so far as to cover up or distort the truth consciously or unconsciously. Comrades! Such cases are by no means rare and strange but are of common occurrence.

Thus we can say: If a Communist Party member lacks the clear-cut, firm, correct and pure standpoint and ideology of the proletariat, it will be impossible for him to thoroughly understand and master the theory and

method of Marxism-Leninism and to make of it a weapon in his own revolutionary struggle.

Therefore, first and foremost in the cultivation of Communist Party members should be ideological cultivation which is the foundation of all other cultivations. This I shall speak about in the following.

CHAPTER TWO

THE IDEOLOGICAL CULTIVATION OF PARTY MEMBERS

COMRADES! IN DEALING WITH the ideological cultivation of Communist Party members, I shall try to discuss this problem on the basis of certain phenomena as manifested in the ideology of some members of our Party. What I am going to talk about in this connection is only the most basic ideology of Party members.

What, after all, is meant by ideological cultivation? I consider that it is in the main a struggle in our minds between the ideology of the proletariat and other ideologies; a struggle in our minds between the Communist outlook on life and the Communist world outlook on the one hand, and all other outlooks on life and world outlooks on the other; and a struggle between two concepts: the personal interests and aims of Party members and the interests and aims of the Party and of the people.

I consider that this is a struggle of conflicting ideas reflecting the economic and political demands of different

classes in a given society. The outcome of this struggle, so far as the ideology of our Party members is concerned, should be the conquest and even elimination of all other ideologies by the proletarian ideology; the conquest and even elimination of all other outlooks on life and world outlooks by the Communist outlook on life and the Communist world outlook; the conquest and absorption of the idea of the Party members' personal interests and aims by the idea of the common interests and aims of the Party, of the revolution, and of the liberation of the proletariat and mankind. Should the outcome prove to be otherwise, then it would mean the conquest of the latter by the former and the Party member would become backward and even lose his qualifications as a Communist Party member. To us Party members, this would indeed be a dreadful and disastrous outcome.

It is in the course of all the ideological, political and economic struggles both inside and outside the Party that we Communists temper our own ideas and come to understand the realities of the revolution. At the same time we should constantly sum up and absorb the experiences gathered from revolutionary practice and examine our own ideas to see whether they are completely in conformity with Marxism-Leninism and with the interests of the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat. To eliminate in the course of such a study, reflection and self-examination all our incorrect ideas and to nip in the bud even the faintest idea which runs counter to the interests of Communism—this is what we mean by ideological

logical cultivation. It is also a form of ideological self-steeling.

Comrades! As you are aware, all the actions of man are guided by his ideology. Furthermore, every man has his outlook on life and his world outlook as a general guide to his ideas and actions. Therefore, in carrying on ideological cultivation we Communists must, first of all, clearly define our outlook on life and our world outlook because all our ideas and activities are connected with our outlook on life and our world outlook.

It Is Necessary to Understand that the Cause of Communism Is the Greatest and Most Arduous Cause in the History of Mankind

The outlook on life and world outlook of us Communists should represent the system of ideology of the proletariat. They are the Communist outlook on life and world outlook and are also the methodology of us Communists. Since this subject has been treated at great length in Marxist-Leninist literature and especially in the works of Marx and Lenin on philosophy and since you have learnt a great deal about it, I am not going to talk about this today. Here I shall speak only briefly about how we should understand our own cause—what, after all, is the cause of Communism and how should we Communist Party members further our cause?

What is the most fundamental and common duty of us Communist Party members? As everybody knows, it is to establish Communism, to transform the present world into a Communist world. Is a Communist world

good or not? We all know that it is very good. In such a world there will be no exploiters, oppressors, landlords, capitalists, imperialists or fascists. There will be no oppressed and exploited people, no darkness, ignorance, backwardness, etc. In such a society all human beings will become unselfish and intelligent Communists with a high level of culture and technique. The spirit of mutual assistance and mutual love will prevail among mankind. There will be no such irrational things as mutual deception, mutual antagonism, mutual slaughter and war, etc. Such a society will, of course, be the best, the most beautiful and the most advanced society in the history of mankind. Who will say that such a society is not good? Here the question arises: Can Communist society be brought about? Our answer is 'yes.' About this the whole theory of Marxism-Leninism offers a scientific explanation that leaves no room for doubt. It further explains that as the ultimate result of the class struggle of mankind, such a society will inevitably be brought about. The victory of Socialism in the U.S.S.R. has also given us factual proof. Our duty is, therefore, to bring about at an earlier date this Communist society, the realization of which is inevitable in the history of mankind.

This is one aspect. This is our ideal.

But we should understand the other aspect, that is, in spite of the fact that Communism can be, and will inevitably be realised it is still confronted by powerful enemies that must be thoroughly and finally defeated in

every respect before Communism can be realised. Thus, the cause of Communism is a long, bitter, arduous but victorious process of struggle. Without such a struggle there could be no Communism. Of course, this struggle is not, as some people have said, an 'accidental' social phenomenon or something engineered by certain Communists who are 'rebellious by nature.' On the contrary, it is an inevitable phenomenon in the course of the development of a class society. It is a class struggle which is unavoidable. The birth of the Communist Party, the participation of the Communists in the struggle, their organisation and direction of the struggle are also inevitable phenomena, which are in conformity with the laws of social development. Because imperialists, fascists, capitalists and landlords—in short, the exploiters—have oppressed and exploited the overwhelming majority of mankind to such an extent that the oppressed and exploited people can hardly live, they cannot but unite to oppose this oppression and exploitation; otherwise they cannot live and develop. Consequently, this struggle is an entirely natural and unavoidable phenomenon. On the one hand, we must understand that the cause of Communism is the greatest cause in the history of mankind, because Communism will eventually abolish classes, liberate the whole of mankind and raise human society to heights of happiness unparalleled in the history of mankind. On the other hand, we must also understand that the cause of Communism is the most arduous cause in the history of mankind because Communism must triumph over an extremely powerful enemy—the exploit-

ing classes, along with all their influences, traditions and customs, etc. among the people.

By relying on the proletariat and on the broad masses of the exploited and oppressed people and employing the strategy and tactics of Marxism-Leninism in directing the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses and in advancing society towards the great goal of Communism, the Communist Party is certain to win final victory. This is because the historical process of the social evolution of mankind is advancing towards Communist society, because in the ranks of the world proletariat and the masses of the exploited and oppressed people the greatest revolutionary forces lie latent which, when mobilised, united and organised, are capable of defeating all the reactionary forces of the exploiting classes and decaying capitalism throughout the world; and because the Communist Party and the proletariat are forces that are arising and developing. 'Only that which is arising and developing is invincible.' (*The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B) Short Course*) This can be fully proved by the entire history of the Communist Party of China and by the entire history of the international Communist and working class movements.

So far as the present situation is concerned, Communism has already won a great victory on one-sixth of the surface of the globe—in the Soviet Union. The Communist movements in all countries of the world are in the process of rapid growth and development. Militant Communist parties, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism, have already been established in all countries,

and the strength of the world proletariat and the exploited, oppressed masses is being rapidly mobilised and united in ceaseless struggles. Therefore, the cause of Communism has become a powerful, invincible force throughout the world. There is not the slightest doubt that this force will continue to develop and advance and will win final and complete victory. Despite this, however, the strength of the international reactionary forces and of the exploiting classes are still more powerful than ours and for the time being are still predominant in many respects. Consequently, we shall have to go through a long, bitter, circuitous and arduous process of struggle before we defeat them.

As exploiting classes have ruled over mankind for thousands of years, they have not only made themselves extremely powerful in every respect by seizing everything under the sun but have also exerted an extremely bad influence upon the masses of the exploited classes and people in society. These influences account for all kinds of backwardness, ignorance, selfishness, mutual deception, mutual antagonism, mutual slaughter, etc. in human society. This phenomenon is bound to occur in class society, especially in a society of commodity economy and in capitalist society. This is an inevitable phenomenon created by the exploiting classes for the sake of their class interests and class rule, because without the backwardness, ignorance, dispersion and disunity of the masses of the exploited classes and of the colonial peoples it would be impossible for the exploiting classes to maintain their position as exploiters. Hence, in order

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to achieve victory we must conduct a sharp struggle not only against the exploiting classes but also against the prolonged influences of the exploiting classes among the masses, against the backward ideology and phenomena among the masses so that we can raise their consciousness and unite them to defeat the exploiting classes. Herein lies the difficulty we face in the struggle for the cause of Communism.

Comrades! If the masses were all conscious, united and free from the influences of the exploiting classes and from backward phenomena as certain people imagine, then what difficulties would still remain in the revolution? Such influences of the exploiting classes not only existed long before the revolution but will continue to exist for a very long time after the victory of the revolution and after the exploiters have been kicked out of their position of political power by the exploited classes. Just pause to think: how many complicated and difficult tasks and struggles shall we have to undertake if we are to liberate and change the whole of mankind, to finally defeat the exploiting classes and their influences among the people, to reform tens of millions of small commodity producers, to eventually abolish classes and to raise, step by step, mankind which for thousands of years has lived in class society with all kinds of old customs, traditions and backward phenomena (in such a society mankind is divided into classes and nations who fight and kill one another and thus create the ideas and customs of selfishness, mutual deception and mutual antagonism) and to

raise it to the height of an intelligent, unselfish, Communist mankind with a high level of culture and technique?

Lenin said:

The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists—that we have accomplished with comparative ease—it also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and they cannot be driven out, or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organisational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralism and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the organisational role of the proletariat (and that is its principal role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously.... The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force.... It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralised big bourgeoisie than to 'vanquish' the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralising activity, achieve the very results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie....

Lenin again said:

... the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the

strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.

This was written by Lenin two years after the victory of the October Revolution in the Soviet Union. (This most difficult task has now already been solved in the Soviet Union.) Hence, the proletariat still has the most difficult task to solve even after the victory of the revolution, because our revolution is different from all other revolutions in history. The bourgeois revolution, for example, is usually accomplished by the seizure of State power; but to the proletariat, political liberation and victory mean only the beginning of the revolution. Gigantic tasks still lie ahead after political victory has been attained.

Lenin said:

Bourgeois revolution was confronted by only one task—to sweep away, to cast aside, to destroy all the fetters of the preceding society. By fulfilling this task every bourgeois revolution fulfils all that is required of it; it accelerates the growth of capitalism.

The social revolution is in an altogether different position. The more backward the country which, owing to the zigzags of history, has proved to be the one to start the socialist revolution, the more difficult is it for her to pass

from the old capitalist relations to socialist relations. To the tasks of destruction are added new, incredibly difficult tasks, viz., organisational tasks.

Hence, the proletariat still has difficult tasks even after the victory of the revolution. Hence, the cause of Communism is comparable to a '100-year great task' as we say, and can never be 'accomplished at one stroke.' The proletariat in different countries must go through different stages of development and defeat different enemies before Communist society can be finally established. For example, China is still in the stage of a democratic revolution of a bourgeois character and its enemies are imperialism which conducts aggression against China, and the feudal forces in collusion with imperialism. These enemies must be defeated before the revolution of a bourgeois character can be completed. In the present stage, the broad masses of the small producers still constitute a very great motive force of the revolution. Our country must undergo a prolonged period of socialist reconstruction before it can finally pass, through gradual transition, into Communist society.

Comrades! To establish Communism is our most fundamental duty. Therefore, to overcome the various above-mentioned difficulties confronting the cause of Communism is the bounden duty of us Communists.

Just because the cause of Communism is such a great and difficult cause there are today still many people (here we speak of those who have a sense of righteousness and who seek truth) who doubt Communism or

withdraw from the cause of Communism because they have lost faith in the possibility of establishing Communism. They do not believe that mankind can be developed and transformed into an exceedingly pure Communist mankind and that such difficulties can be overcome. Or they have not anticipated such difficulties so the moment they meet with difficulties they become pessimistic, disappointed and even wavering.

We Communists must possess the greatest courage and revolutionary determination of mankind. Every Party member should gladly and seriously make up his mind about shouldering this unprecedentedly great and difficult task in human history—the realisation of Communism. While we clearly see the difficulties confronting the cause of Communism, we are not in the least daunted by them for we also clearly understand that these difficulties can certainly be overcome in the course of drawing into the revolution countless millions of people. We clearly understand that the cause of Communism is a '100-year great task.' We must fulfil the great mission which historical evolution has devolved upon us. We have the support of the great masses. We must accomplish a great part of the task of the cause of Communism in our generation and leave to posterity the final completion of the task. Comrades! The great vision and courage of us Communists has never been matched by that of any past heroes in the annals of mankind. In this respect we have every reason to be proud of ourselves.

I remember a learned bourgeois biographer from Western Europe who visited the Soviet Union and asked Comrade Stalin what he thought about comparing Lenin with Peter the Great of Russia. According to this biographer, Comrade Stalin replied that Lenin could be compared to the waters of a mighty ocean while Peter the Great was only a single drop in the ocean. Comrades! Such is the comparison between a leader of the Communist cause of the proletariat and a leader of the cause of the feudal-bourgeois class in relation to their place in history. From this comparison we can understand that a leader who fights for the success of Communism and for the cause of the liberation of mankind appears so very great while a leader who fights for the cause of a handful of exploiters and parasites appears so very small.

Communist Party members have the greatest ideals, greatest objective of struggle and the most practical spirit of 'searching for the truth from concrete facts' and also carry on practical work. These are the characteristics of us Communists.

Comrades! If you only possess great and lofty ideals but not the spirit of 'searching for the truth from concrete facts' and do not carry on genuinely practical work, you are not a good Communist Party member. You can only be a dreamer, a prattler or a pedant. If on the contrary, you only do practical work but do not possess the great and lofty ideals of Communism, you are not a good Communist, but a common careerist. A good Communist

Party member is one who combines the great and lofty ideals of Communism with practical work and the spirit of searching for the truth from concrete facts.

The Communist ideal is beautiful while the existing capitalist world is ugly. It is precisely because of its ugliness that the overwhelming majority of the people want to change it and cannot but change it. In changing the world we cannot divorce ourselves from reality, or disregard reality; nor can we escape from reality or surrender to the ugly reality. We must adapt ourselves to reality, understand reality, seek to live and develop in reality, struggle against the ugly reality and transform reality in order to realise our ideals. Therefore, we Communist Party members should begin our great Communist task of changing the world by starting from the very people in close contact with us and from the very work that we can immediately undertake. Here I shall have to criticize some errors frequently made by certain young comrades—their attempts to escape from or to disregard reality. It is very good that they have lofty ideals. But they often complain that this place is no good and that place is no better; that this kind of work is no good and that kind is no good, either. All the while they are looking for some kind of ideal place and work so as to enable them to smoothly 'change the world.' However, such places and such work do not exist except in their wishful thinking.

This is my understanding of the cause of Communism, which is our life-long work. It also constitutes the most important part of our outlook on life and our world

outlook. Our activities throughout our whole lives are for the sake of this and nothing else.

The Unconditional Subordination of the Personal Interests of a Party Member to the Interests of the Party

Apart from clearly establishing his Communist outlook on life and his Communist world outlook, a Communist must also clearly define the correct relationship between his personal interests and the interests of the Party. The Marxist principle is that personal interests must be subordinated to the Party's interests, partial interests to total interests, temporary interests to long-range interests, and the interests of one nation to the interests of the world as a whole.

The Communist Party is the political party representing the proletariat. Apart from the interests of the emancipation of the proletariat, the Party has no other interests and aims of its own. The ultimate emancipation of the proletariat, however, must needs be the ultimate emancipation of mankind as a whole, because the proletariat cannot emancipate itself if it fails to emancipate all the working people and all nations, in other words, if it fails to emancipate mankind as a whole. Hence, the proletariat must loyally assist and lead all working people, all oppressed nations and peoples in fighting for their own emancipation and raising their own living standards and their own cultural and political levels. Therefore, the interests of the emancipation of the proletariat are identical with, and inseparable from, the interests of the emancipation of the whole of mankind

and of all the oppressed nations. Therefore, the interests of the Communist Party are the very interests of the emancipation of the proletariat and mankind as a whole. They are also the interests of Communism and social evolution. Therefore, the subordination of a Party member's personal interests to the Party's interests means subordination to the interests of class and national emancipation and to the interests of Communism and social evolution.

Whether or not a Communist Party member can absolutely and unconditionally subordinate his personal interests to the Party's interests under all circumstances is the criterion with which to test his loyalty to the Party, to the revolution and to the Communist cause. Since the realisation of Communism must depend upon the proletariat and the Communist Party, Communism will never be brought about if the interests of the proletariat and the Communist Party are impaired.

At all times and on all questions, a Communist Party member should take into account the interests of the Party as a whole, and place the Party's interests above his personal problems and interests. It is the highest principle of our Party members that the Party's interests are supreme. Every Party member should firmly build up this conception in his ideology. This is what we have often spoken of as 'Party spirit,' 'Party conception' or 'organisational conception.' He should have only the Party and the Party's interests uppermost in his mind and not considerations of a personal character. He should

ensure that his personal interests accord with the Party's interests or even merge with them. Thus when his personal interests conflict with the Party's interests he will be able to submit to the Party's interests and sacrifice his personal interests without the slightest hesitation or reluctance. To sacrifice one's personal interests and even one's life without the slightest hesitation and even with a feeling of happiness, for the cause of the Party, for class and national liberation and for the emancipation of mankind is the highest manifestation of Communist ethics. This is a Party member's highest manifestation of principle. This is the manifestation of the purity of proletarian ideology of a Party member.

In the Party our members should not have personal aims independent of the Party's interests. The personal aims of our Party members can only be part of the Party's aims. For example, our Party members want to study Marxist-Leninist theory, enhance their ability, lead the victorious revolutionary struggle of the broad masses and establish various kinds of revolutionary organisations, etc. If all these are their personal aims they are part of the Party's aims as well since they are also in the interests of the Party. And the Party certainly needs large numbers of such Party members and cadres. But apart from this our Party members should not have independent aims of their own such as personal position, individual heroism and so forth. If they have such aims, they may depart from the Party's interests to such an extent as to become opportunists in the Party.

If a Party member has only the interests and aims of the Party and Communism in his ideology, if he has no personal aims and considerations independent of the Party's interests, and if he is really unbiased and unselfish, then he will be capable of the following:—

(1) He will be capable of possessing very good Communist ethics. Because he has a strict standpoint he 'can both love and hate people.' He can show loyalty to and ardent love for all his comrades, revolutionaries and working people, help them unconditionally, treat them with equality and never harm any one of them for the sake of his own interests. He can deal with them in a 'faithful and forgiving' spirit and 'put himself in the position of others.' He can consider others' problems from their points of view and be considerate to them. 'He will never do to others anything he would not like others to do to him.' He can deal with the most vicious enemies of mankind in a most resolute manner and conduct a persistent struggle against the enemy for the purpose of defending the interests of the Party, the class and the emancipation of mankind. As the Chinese saying goes: 'He will worry long before the rest of the world begins to worry and he will rejoice only after the rest of the world has rejoiced.' Both in the Party and among the people he will be the first to suffer hardship and the last to enjoy himself. He never minds whether his conditions are better or worse than others, but he does mind as to whether he has done more revolutionary work than others or whether he has fought harder. In times of

adversity, he will stand out courageously and unflinchingly and in the face of difficulties he will demonstrate the greatest sense of responsibility. Therefore, he is capable of possessing the greatest firmness and moral courage to resist corruption by riches or honours, to resist tendencies to vacillate in spite of poverty and lowly status and to refuse to yield in spite of threats or force.

(2) He will also be capable of possessing the greatest courage. Since he is free from any selfishness whatever and has never done 'anything against his conscience,' he can expose his mistakes and shortcomings and boldly correct them in the same way as the sun and the moon emerge bright and full following a brief eclipse. He is 'courageous because his is a just cause.' He is never afraid of truth. He courageously upholds truth, expounds truth to others and fights for truth. Even if it is temporarily to his disadvantage to do so, even if he will be subjected to various attacks for the sake of upholding truth, even if the opposition and rebuff of the great majority of people forces him into temporary isolation (glorious isolation) and even if on this account his life may be endangered he will still be able to stem the tide and uphold truth and will never resign himself to drifting with the tide. So far as he himself is concerned, he has nothing to fear.

(3) He will be best capable of acquiring the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, viewing problems and perceiving the real nature of the situation keenly and aptly. Because he has a firm and clear-cut class standpoint, he is free from personal worries and personal

desires which may blur or distort his observation of things and understanding of truth. He has an objective attitude. He tests all theories, truths and falsehoods in the course of revolutionary practice and is no respecter of persons.

(4) He will also be capable of being the most sincere, most candid and happiest of men. Since he has no selfish desires and since he has nothing to conceal from the Party, 'there is nothing which he is afraid of telling others' as the Chinese saying goes. Apart from the interests of the Party and of the revolution, he has no personal losses or gains or other things to worry about. He can 'look after himself when he is on his own.' He takes care not to do wrong things when he works independently and without supervision and when there is ample opportunity for him to do all kinds of wrong things. His work will be found in no way incompatible with the Party's interests no matter how many years later it is reviewed. He does not fear criticism from others and he can courageously and sincerely criticize others. That is why he can be sincere, candid and happy.

(5) He will be capable of possessing the highest self-respect and self-esteem. For the interests of the Party and of the revolution, he can also be the most lenient, most tolerant and most ready to compromise and he will even endure, if necessary, various forms of humiliation and injustice without feeling hurt or bearing grudges. As he has no personal aims or designs, he has no need to flatter others and does not want others to flatter him, either. He has no personal favours to ask of others, so he has no need to humble himself in order

to ask help from others. For the interests of the Party and the revolution he can also take care of himself, protect his life and health, raise his theoretical level and enhance his ability. But if for the sake of certain important aims of the Party and of the revolution he is required to endure insults, shoulder heavy burdens and do work which he is reluctant to do, he will take up the most difficult and important work without the slightest hesitation and will not pass the buck.

A Communist Party member should possess all the greatest and noblest virtues of mankind. He should also possess the strict and clear-cut standpoint of the Party and of the proletariat (that is, Party spirit and class character). Our ethics are great precisely because they are the ethics of Communism and of the proletariat. Such ethics are not built upon the backward basis of safeguarding the interests of individuals or a small number of exploiters. They are built, on the contrary, upon the progressive basis of the interests of the proletariat, of the ultimate emancipation of mankind as a whole, of saving the world from destruction and of building a happy and beautiful Communist world. To a Communist, it is most unworthy and inadvisable to make sacrifices for the interests of any individual or a small number of people. But if sacrifice has to be made for the Party, for class and national liberation, that is, for the emancipation of mankind, for social evolution and for the interests of the greatest majority of mankind embracing countless millions of people, countless Communist Party members will face death with equanimity and make any sacrifice without

the slightest hesitation. To the majority of Communist Party members, it will be accepted as a matter of course 'to lay down one's life for a noble cause' or 'to die for righteousness,' if necessary. This is not because they live in fantasy or are ambitious for praise and fame but because of their scientific understanding of social evolution and their consciousness. This is exactly why our ethics are the greatest and the most scientific. Apart from this, we do not admit that there are so-called greater, more scientific 'super-class' and general ethics in a class society. This is only deceptive nonsense. These so-called 'ethics' are, in fact, built upon the basis of safeguarding the interests of a small number of exploiters. This concept of 'ethics' has always been idealist in character. It is only we Communists who build ethics upon the scientific basis of historical materialism and it is only we Communists too who openly build ethics upon the material basis of the interests of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat and mankind.

The Communist Party represents not only the interests of individual Party members but also the long-range interests of the entire body of workers and the emancipation of mankind. The Party's interests are the crystallisation of the interests not only of individual Party members but also of the entire body of workers and the emancipation of mankind. Apart from the interests of the proletariat and the emancipation of mankind, the Communist Party has no other interests and aims. Therefore, the Communist Party must not be regarded as a narrow, small group like a guild which seeks only the

personal interests of its members. Whoever holds such a view is not a Communist.

Of course, a Party member has his personal interests and personal development. At certain times such personal interests may come in conflict with, or become antagonistic to, the Party's interests. Should this happen, a Party member is required to sacrifice his personal interests unconditionally and should not sacrifice the Party's interests to meet his personal interests (no matter under what cloak or pretext). Since the personal interests and development of the Party member are included in the interests and development of the Party, the success and victory of the Party and class also mean the success and victory of a Party member. Therefore, only in the struggle for the development, success and victory of the Party can a Party member hope to develop himself. He cannot divorce himself from the development of the Party in order to strive for his personal development. In short, only in the course of the struggle for the development, success and victory of the Party can a Party member develop himself; without this, he cannot develop himself at all. Therefore, the personal interests of a Party member must and can be made completely identical with the Party's interests and development.

A member of our Party is no longer just an ordinary person. He is a conscious vanguard fighter of the proletariat. He should not only represent his personal interests. He should prove himself a conscious living representative of the interests and ideology of the proletariat. Since he has already become one of the general

representatives of the proletariat, his personal interests should never stand out as against the interests of the Party and proletariat. As to the cadres and leaders of the Party, it is all the more necessary for them to become the living representatives of the general interests of the Party and of the proletariat and to thoroughly merge their personal interests and aims in the general interests and aims of the Party and the proletariat. As circumstances now exist in China, the proletariat alone can best represent the interests of national liberation. Therefore, our Party members have proved themselves the best representatives of the interests of the nation as a whole.

This is one aspect of the problem to which our Party members should pay attention. But there is another aspect.

Although the general interests of the Party include the personal interests of a Party member, yet the former cannot embrace the whole of the latter. The personality of a Party member cannot and should not be eliminated. In any case a Party member will still have some personal problems to solve. Furthermore, he still needs to develop himself according to his personality and his special ability. Therefore, the Party permits its members to build up their personal and family life and to develop their personalities and special abilities so long as these do not violate the Party's interests. Moreover, under all possible conditions, the Party will help a Party member to develop his personality and special ability in the interests of the Party, provide him with appropriate work and working conditions and even give him all possible

encouragement. Also under all possible conditions, the Party will look after and safeguard the personal, indispensable interests of a Party member—for instance, the Party will give him opportunities to receive education and to study, help to solve his domestic and health problems and, if necessary, even give up certain Party work in order to preserve comrades, etc. However, all such measures are taken with no other purpose than that of safeguarding the interests of the Party as a whole because the tasks of the Party cannot be accomplished if the Party fails to guarantee its members the minimum conditions as regards living, work and education in order to enable them to work enthusiastically and without worries. In dealing with the problems of Party members the responsible leaders of the Party must pay attention to this point. This is the other aspect of the problem.

To sum up, a Party member should unreservedly submit to the interests of the Party. He should be strict with himself and public-spirited and should have no personal aims or considerations. He should not think only of himself in all matters. He should not make a lot of personal demands on the Party or blame the Party for not having promoted or commended him. Besides, a Party member should endeavour, under all circumstances, to study and improve himself to the best of his ability, to struggle courageously and to ceaselessly raise his consciousness and his understanding of Marxism-Leninism in order to render greater contributions and assistance to the Party and the revolution. In dealing with Party members' problems the Party and its leaders must pay

attention to the working, living and educational conditions of Party members in order to enable them to do better work for the Party, to develop themselves and to raise their consciousness to the greatest extent in the proletarian revolutionary cause. Great attention should be paid especially to those comrades who are really strict with themselves and public-spirited. Only in this way, that is, only by paying attention to both aspects and co-ordinating them can the Party be most benefited.

Examples of Various Kinds of Erroneous Ideologies in the Party

Comrades! If we take the Communist outlook on life and world outlook, our understanding of the cause of Communism, and the establishment of a correct relationship between the Party's interests and those of Party members as our criteria for evaluating our Party members and cadres, we will find out that on the one hand, there are many Party members and cadres who conform to these criteria and can serve as models for other Party members, but that on the other hand there are also some Party members and cadres who still do not conform to these criteria, and still retain different kinds of incorrect ideologies to a greater or lesser degree. Here I shall openly point them out in a general way, so that our comrades may pay attention to them while carrying on their self-cultivation.

What are the basically incorrect ideologies among comrades in the Party? They can be listed roughly as follows:

Firstly, those who have joined our Party not only come from different social strata, but bring with them different aims and motives. Despite the fact that most members have joined the Party in order to fight for the realisation of Communism, for the great aim of emancipating the proletariat and mankind, there are, however, still some other members who have joined the Party for other reasons and aims. For example, some peasant comrades regarded as 'Communism' the 'striking down of the local despots and the distribution of the land' which we carried out in the past and they did not understand genuine Communism as meaning anything more when they joined the Party. At the present time quite a few people have joined the Party chiefly because of the Communists' determined resistance to Japan and because of the anti-Japanese national united front. Certain other people have joined the Party as a way out because they could not find a way out in society—they had no trade, no job, no school to attend, or they wanted to escape from their families, or from forced marriages, etc. Some came because they looked up to the prestige of the Party, or because they recognised, though only in a vague way, that the Communist Party could save China. And finally there were even some individuals who came because they counted on the Communists for tax reduction, or because they hoped to become influential in the future, or because their relatives and friends brought them in, etc. It is very natural that such comrades should lack a clear and definite Communist outlook on life and world outlook, should fail to understand the greatness and difficulties of the Communist cause, and should be unable to take a

firm proletarian stand. Therefore, it is also very natural that at certain turning points, under certain conditions, some of them should have wavered or changed. They have brought with them all kinds and shades of ideologies into the Party. Consequently, their education, steeling and self-cultivation are an extremely important matter. Otherwise, they simply will not be able to become vanguard fighters of the proletariat.

Despite this, however, it is by no means a serious problem. That certain people come to rely upon the Communist Party, come to the Party to seek a way out and give support to the Party's policies—all this, after all, cannot be regarded as wrong. They are not mistaken in having sought out the Party. We welcome such people except for the opportunist elements, enemy spies and traitors. The Party's Programme and Constitution must be accepted and observed. As to further study and understanding of Communism and of the Party's Programme and Constitution, they can do this after joining the Party, and moreover on the basis of their studies they can further steel and cultivate themselves in the course of the struggle, and thus it is entirely possible for them to make themselves into very good Communists.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to require many people to have a profound understanding of Communism and of the Party's Programme and Constitution before they join the Party. It is for this reason that we only prescribe the acceptance of the Party's Programme and Constitution as a condition for admission into the Party, instead of prescribing a thorough understanding of the

Party's Programme and Constitution as a condition. Although such persons still do not thoroughly understand Communism they may become active fighters in the course of the present Communist movement and the present revolutionary movement. Moreover, in the long course of the revolutionary struggle, they may become excellent and conscious Communists through intensive studies and cultivation. Besides, our Party Constitution further stipulates that Communist Party members shall have the freedom to withdraw from the Party (there is no freedom to join the Party). If any member lacks a profound belief in Communism, cannot endure strict inner-Party life, or for any other reason, he is free to withdraw from the Party. So long as he does not give away Party secrets, does not oppose Communism, does not engage in subversive activities against the Party, the Party allows any member to withdraw and will leave him be. As to opportunists and traitors who have sneaked into the Party, we will naturally expel them. In this way the purity of our Party can be preserved.

Secondly, certain Party members still have an ideology marked by relatively strong individualism and self-interest.

This kind of individualism finds expression in the following ways: certain persons, when solving all kinds of concrete problems, place their personal interests above the Party's interests; or they are always worrying about their personal gains and losses, weighing their personal interests; or they engage in jobbery, taking advantage of

Party work to achieve certain personal aims; or they attempt to pay off their personal grudges against other comrades on the pretext of a question of principle, or of Party interests.

When it comes to questions of salaries, amenities and other matters concerning private life, they always want to surpass others, and to compare and compete with the very highest cadres and 'use any means to achieve this end,' and will brag about such things. But when it comes to work, they want to compare with those who are less capable. When there are hardships, they try to avoid them; in times of danger, they attempt to run away. As to orderlies, they always want more. As to living quarters, they always want the best. They want to show off and share the honours bestowed on the Party. They try to monopolise all the good things, but will have no part in anything that is in something of a mess.

Comrades! There are such people in our Party. Their heads are full of the ideology of the exploiting classes. They even believe in such expressions as: 'Everyone for himself, and the devil take the hindmost,' 'Man is a selfish animal,' 'There is no such thing in the world as a genuinely unselfish person, or else such a person is a simpleton or an idiot.' They make use of all such expressions of the exploiting classes to justify their own selfishness and individualism.

This kind of selfish individualism frequently finds expression inside the Party in such mistakes as unprincipled disputes, factional struggles, sectarianism and

departmentalism. It also finds expression in actions which disregard or even undermine at will Party discipline. Most unprincipled struggles arise from personal interests. Factional struggles and sectarianism often place the interests of the individual or the minority above Party interests. Such people often consciously undermine the organisation and discipline of the Party in the course of unprincipled factional struggles, attack certain persons in an unprincipled manner or deliberately, and make friends in an unprincipled way with certain people for the purpose of not offending each other, mutual shielding and mutual boasting and praising.

As to departmentalism in the Party, it is different from such individualism. Departmentalism comes about chiefly because a comrade sees only partial interests, sees only his part of the work, does not see the situation as a whole and does not see the work of others. Therefore, he commits the mistake of only looking after the interests of his part of the work to such an extent that he obstructs others. Politically speaking, this is a thing resembling guildism. In the case of comrades committing the mistake of departmentalism their motives and their starting points may not necessarily be very bad. This of course cannot be compared with individualism. Nevertheless, persons with an individualistic outlook often commit the mistake of departmentalism.

Thirdly, self-conceit, individual heroism, showing-off etc. still exist to a greater or lesser extent in the ideology of quite a few comrades in the Party.

The first consideration of people with such ideas is their position in the Party. They like to show off, and want others to flatter them and admire them. They have a personal ambition to become leaders. They take advantage of their abilities and like to claim credit, to show off themselves, to keep everything in their hands and they are intolerant. They are full of vanity, do not want to bury their heads in hard work and are unwilling to do technical work. They are haughty. When they have made some small achievements they become very arrogant and domineering as if there were no one else like them in the world. They seek to overshadow others and cannot treat others on equal terms, modestly and politely. They are self-conceited and like to lecture others, to instruct and boss others. They are always trying to climb above others, and do not accept directions from others, do not learn modestly from others and particularly from the masses, nor do they accept criticisms from others. They like to be 'promoted' but cannot stand being 'demoted.' They can only work 'in fair weather' but not 'in foul.' They cannot bear attacks or injustices and are unable to adapt themselves to circumstances. They are not 'great men' capable of asserting themselves when necessary or of keeping in the background when required. They have not yet got rid of their deep-rooted 'desire for fame' and they try to build themselves up into 'great men' and 'heroes' in the Communist cause, and even have no scruples in employing any means for the gratification of such desires. However, when their aims cannot be achieved, when they receive rebuffs or cool treatment from comrades in the Party, there is a possible danger

of their wavering. In the history of the Party there have been not a few members who left the Party *because of* such wavering. In the minds of such persons there exist remnants of the ideology of the exploiting classes. They do not understand the greatness of Communism, nor do they have the broad vision of a Communist.

Communists should not indulge in self-complacency or haughtiness. Granted certain comrades are very competent and have done certain work well and made great achievements. For example, our army officers led thousands upon thousands of men and won victories, or our Party and mass-work leaders in various places through their work brought about a much more favourable situation. Theirs may probably be 'great' achievements of which they may be proud, yet compared with the cause of Communism as a whole how great are these achievements after all? Their achievements are but 'a drop in the ocean.' To a person with a Communist world outlook what is there in this that one may be really proud of?

So far as individual Party members are concerned how can one's personal position be worth worrying about? One's position can never be higher than that of an emperor, nevertheless, comparing the position of an emperor with that of a fighter for the cause of Communism, how great is it after all? It is only 'a drop in the ocean,' as Stalin has said. So what is there that is worth worrying and bragging about?

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many Party and mass leaders with prestige and position. At present, we really have far too few revolutionary heroes and leaders with prestige. We still need to temper and cultivate a great number of very good Communist revolutionary heroes and leaders in all fields. This is a very important thing in our cause which simply cannot be neglected. Whoever shows contempt for this point simply does not understand how to advance the Communist cause. Therefore, we must still greatly enhance our Party members' keenness and aspiration for progress in the revolutionary cause. At present we are not doing enough in this respect. This point shows itself, for instance, in the fact that certain Party members are not studying hard enough, and their interest in politics and theory is not deep enough.

Therefore, we oppose individual heroism and showing-off but we certainly do not oppose such aspiration for progress among our members—this is a most precious quality of Communist Party members. But the proletarian and Communist aspiration for progress is entirely different from the individualistic aspiration for progress. The former seeks truth, upholds truth and moreover fights most effectively for truth. It has a perspective of unlimited development and is of a progressive nature. But the latter, as far as the individual goes, is extremely limited in its progressive nature and furthermore has no perspective, because, for the sake of the individual's personal interests, it often consciously negates, covers up or distorts truth. Therefore, our comrades must understand that real leaders and heroes in the Communist

cause can never be individualistic and self-appointed. Anyone who appoints himself as a leader or who individually tries to become a leader can never become a leader in our Party. All leaders, whether national or local, have achieved success through mass support. The rank and file of our Party will not support as their leaders those persons who are self-conceited, given to individual heroism, showing-off, personal ambition for leadership and vanity. No Party member has the right to demand that other members and the masses support him as a leader or to safeguard his position as a leader. Only such Party members who have not the slightest personal aim, who are loyal to the Party, who have a high degree of Communist ethics and qualities, who can master the theory and methods of Marxism-Leninism, who have considerable practical ability, who can actually direct Party work, who try unceasingly and strenuously to study and to make progress can win the confidence and support of the Party and the masses and thus become heroes and leaders in the Communist cause.

Our comrades should further realise that a Party member, a leader or hero, whoever he may be, can only carry out a part of the work of the Communist cause and shoulder only a part of the responsibility. The Communist cause is a collective task involving countless tens of millions of persons over a long period of time, and cannot be monopolised by any individual. Even our great leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin fulfilled only a part of the work of the Communist cause. Their work still needs the continuous efforts of tens of millions

of us. We ordinary Party members also carry out a part of the work and shoulder a part of the responsibility in the cause of Communism. Our part is of course much smaller than that of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin. Nevertheless, we all have our part. Although there is a difference between a great part and a small part, it is a part all the same. Therefore if we can do a part of the work well, it means that we have fulfilled our duty.

Of course, we should try our best to do a bigger part. But if we cannot, we can still do a smaller part just as well. So far as we individually are concerned, this is nothing worth while worrying about. In any case, we should at least try not to obstruct the development of the Communist cause, and should do our part of the work, be it big or small. That is the attitude we should adopt towards our own work. There are certain comrades who are not willing to do technical work, thinking that to do so is to belittle themselves, and that it would prevent them from becoming famous in later generations (actually they can, like Edison and Stakhanov, etc. who all rose from among technical workers), and prevent them from displaying their talents. They seem to think that for them to do such work would be a great loss to the Communist cause. Therefore, they more or less lose the aspiration for progress required of all Party members.

Comrades! Such a way of thinking is incorrect! Technical work plays an extremely important part in our Party work. Those comrades who are doing such work are also doing their part for the cause of Communism in the same way as comrades doing other kinds of work.

A Communist should do any work that is important at the time no matter whether the work is to his liking or not or whether it can win popularity or not. For example, following the victory of the Russian revolution many cadres doing important Party and political work were mobilised to learn the art of trade for the purpose of carrying out the New Economic Policy, for at that time only by carrying on trade efficiently could the Communist Party triumph over private capitalism. Even though none of the Party members liked to do trade yet they all did it because it was important. It was right that they did it, and it would have been wrong if they had not.

Here, let me repeat, Party leaders in assigning work to Party members should naturally take into consideration the different circumstances of individual Party members, see to it that the work assigned to them should suit their personality and help to develop their strong points and encourage their enthusiasm for progress. However, the Party member to whom the work is assigned should not refuse the assignment on such grounds.

Fourthly, there are a small number of comrades in the Party who strongly reflect the ideology of the exploiting classes. In dealing with Party comrades and inner-Party problems they often adopt methods used in coping with the enemy, being utterly devoid of the great, sincere, Communist and proletarian spirit of mutual assistance and solidarity.

Persons with such an ideology seek to elevate and develop themselves in the Party, but they achieve this purpose by holding others down and obstructing their development. They want to jump over the heads of others and are jealous of those who are more capable. They feel displeased if others go ahead of them, catch up with them or overtake them. They will not be pleased until they have succeeded in keeping others down or behind them. They are not willing to be under others. They only care about their own well-being, their own development, without any consideration for the difficulties of others. When they see other comrades meet with difficulties, setbacks, frustration or attacks, they are happy over the calamity, secretly rejoice, and are entirely devoid of sympathy. They even scheme to injure other comrades, to 'throw stones at them when they are already down the well' and take advantage of the weak points and difficulties of other comrades to attack them and ruin their reputation. In the Party they also take advantage of the weaknesses in the Party's organisation and work to serve their ulterior purposes, to garner certain personal benefits by means of exacerbating such weaknesses. In the Party they are fond of spreading rumours, speaking ill of others behind their backs, and scheming to drive a wedge in the relations between comrades. They like to take part in all the unprincipled disputes in the Party, and take great interest in all 'controversies.' Especially when the Party is in difficulties, they create and exacerbate such controversies inside the Party.

In short, they are thoroughly vicious and not in the least upright. Is it not a sheer joke to say that such persons can master the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, and can reflect the ideology of the proletariat? Quite evidently, theirs is absolutely the reflection of the ideology of the declining exploiting classes because all exploiters, in order to develop themselves, will impair the interests of others. To increase their own wealth or to prevent themselves from going bankrupt during a depression, the capitalists crowd out a great many smaller capitalists, and compel countless workers to starve. To expand their land, the landlords exploit the peasants and deprive many of their landholdings. Fascist countries like Germany, Italy and Japan, to expand themselves, hindered the development of other countries and conquered Austria, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, etc. and committed aggression against China. To impair the interests of others and to render others bankrupt are conditions essential to the development of the exploiters themselves, whose happiness is founded upon others' sufferings.

Therefore, among exploiters it is impossible to find genuine firm unity, genuine mutual assistance and genuine human sympathy. The exploiters must work out treacherous schemes and underhanded measures against others, for it profits them to undo others or to render them bankrupt. Nevertheless, they are compelled to tell lies and pose before the masses as pseudo-saints and 'supporters of justice'. These are the characteristics of all exploiters in their decline. Such things, however,

are also reflected in the ideology of some people in our Party. To the exploiters such things may be the standard of their 'noble' ethics; but to the proletariat, they are outright treason.

The proletariat is entirely different from what has just been described. The proletariat does not exploit others, but is exploited by others. There are no basic conflicts in interests among the workers, or between the workers and all the other oppressed and exploited toiling masses. To develop themselves and to win their own emancipation, the workers not only have no need to impair the interests and development of other workers or toiling people, but have need of uniting with other workers and toiling people. Only then can the workers develop themselves, raise their own position and emancipate themselves. The emancipation of the proletariat itself must be accompanied by the emancipation of all toiling people and mankind as a whole. It is impossible to separately emancipate an individual worker or a section of the workers. The cause of emancipating humanity must be carried out to the end, and it is impossible to stop or compromise halfway. And it must be the common, complete emancipation of humanity as a whole.

The ideology of the awakened workers, reflecting this objective situation of the proletariat, is entirely contrary to the ideology of the exploiters. On the one hand, they must of course employ the most merciless measures in dealing with the common enemy of the people; on the

other hand, they never employ such measures in dealing with their own brothers and comrades, thus clearly differentiating their attitude and measures adopted against their enemy from those directed towards their friends and comrades. They have a great and sincere friendship, love and sympathy for their own class brothers and for all the toiling people who are being exploited and oppressed. They display a great spirit of mutual assistance, of firm solidarity and of genuine equality in dealing with their own brothers. They absolutely refuse to recognise that any one among their own brothers or among humanity has any special privileges and they do not cherish the idea that they themselves have any special privileges. To them such a thing is unthinkable and an insult. They want to develop and elevate themselves but they know they must at the same time develop others, raise the position of the whole labouring class, and only thus can they elevate themselves. They are unwilling to lag behind others as regards ideology, politics or work and they have a lofty aspiration to strive for progress, but they know they must respect, love and help those persons who are better qualified in such aspects. They strive to learn from such persons without any jealousy. They show extreme concern for the painful and difficult situation of their own class and of the whole of the world's labouring people. They are concerned about the struggle for the emancipation of labouring people everywhere and about their victories and defeats. They realise that every victory or defeat of the labouring people, wherever it takes place, means their own victory or defeat, and more-

over, they express very great sympathy and concern about such victories and defeats.

They consider that in the struggle for the emancipation of any labouring people or of all the oppressed people it would be criminal to adopt an attitude of indifference or to gloat over other's misfortunes. They love their own comrades and brothers; they openly, frankly and sincerely point out the weaknesses and mistakes of their comrades and brothers. (Indeed, this is a true expression of love). In matters of principle, they never appease or compromise with their comrades or even encourage their mistakes and weaknesses (to do so would not be an expression of love), but use every means to help them overcome and correct such weaknesses and mistakes. They do not utilise or aggravate such weaknesses and mistakes to force their comrades into an unfortunate or even hopeless situation.

In dealing with their own comrades and brothers, they 'return good for evil.' If only the other comrades will correct their mistakes they will have not the slightest desire for retaliation. They are able 'to require much from themselves and little from others.' They are strict with themselves but rather lenient towards other comrades. Nevertheless, they take a firm and strict position in matters of principle, and adopt a candid, upright and serious attitude. They will not compromise on questions of principle. They will not tolerate anyone who in any way harms the interests of the Party, nor will they allow anyone to insult them without reason. They are especially contemptuous of anyone who lavishly praises, flatters

or adulates them in an unprincipled way. They oppose all unprincipled struggle among their own comrades and at the same time keep themselves from being involved in unprincipled struggles. They are not influenced or irritated by those irresponsible and informal criticisms made behind their backs and will not on this account lose their own stand on matters of principle or their cool-headed and calm attitude.

All this represents the ideology of the proletariat and should be reflected, developed and learnt by every one of our Party members. The entire lives of our great leaders, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin represent the highest model and concrete embodiment of such ideology. All this represents the uprightness of humanity in the present society, and it is the Communist Party that manifests such uprightness. We must promote and elevate such uprightness in order to overcome all viciousness.

Fifthly, bureaucracy still exists in our Party and in various organisations. I will speak again on this subject later on. Among some comrades there still exist such weaknesses as narrow-mindedness and the minding of small matters without taking into consideration the overall situation. They do not have the great courage or the far-sightedness of a Communist. Blind to the bigger issues, they are very much interested in small matters under their nose. They are not very much interested in the vital problems and the highly important events of the Party and the revolution, but instead often concern themselves with trifles as small as a needle or

a piece of thread or with insignificant remarks. Over such trifles they will seriously and endlessly argue with others and become overwhelmed with unrestrained emotion. They can also be easily bribed by others with small favours or gifts. They have all the characteristics of narrow-mindedness of the small producer in rural society.

Also there are still certain individuals who seem to have no clear and definite standpoint. To them, this may be all right and that may also be all right. They play ball with both sides and try to please everybody. To his face they can get along very well with a person whom they hate. They can speak well of you to your face, while speaking ill of you behind your back. They may speak well of a certain person to one man, and speak ill of the same person to another man. 'To show himself, when speaking, to be a respecter of persons and circumstances,' to 'tack with the wind,' and to lean without principle on the winning side—such are their characteristics. Sometimes they are just fence-sitters, watching to see which side is winning and going over to 'that side. Such people who are neither 'fish, flesh, nor fowl' but who are 'double-dealing' creatures are not altogether unknown in our ranks. They display the characteristics of a broker.

In addition, there are certain persons who simply cannot stand the temptations of the exploiting classes of the old society. They begin to waver when they see around them the kaleidoscopic world, glittering gold and beautiful women. As a result, they may commit crime, or may even betray the Party and the revolution.

Furthermore, the impetuosity and inconsistency which characterise the petty-bourgeoisie, and the destructive character of the lumpen-proletariat and the bankrupt peasantry are also often reflected in the ideology of some of the comrades in the Party. We have no need to go further with our list.

To sum up, apart from those who represent the Communist ideology of the great and resolute proletariat, there still exist in our Party certain comrades who, to a greater or lesser degree, reflect various kinds of non-proletarian ideology and even the ideology of the declining exploiting classes. Such ideology is sometimes latent in the Party and only reveals itself in some small individual daily problems. Sometimes it grows and systematically exposes itself in various problems of principle in the Party, in important political questions and in inner-Party struggles. Certain individual sections or links of the Party organisation may also be controlled or corroded by such erroneous ideology. When it develops to the highest degree, for instance, during the time when Chen Tu-hsiu, Chang Kuo-tao and the like were in power in the Party such erroneous non-proletarian ideology even temporarily controlled the major part or the most important part of the Party leadership. But in normal times such ideology is overcome by correct proletarian ideology. This is demonstrated by the inner-Party ideological struggle.

The same is also the case with certain Party members. Sometimes, their erroneous ideology lies dormant and

under control. But at other times it may develop to the point of controlling their actions. This is demonstrated by the contradictions and struggles between the two different ideologies possessed by the same individual.

Our ideological cultivation means that we should consciously adopt the proletarian and Communist outlook on life and world outlook and have a correct understanding of the relationship between individual development and the interests of the emancipation of the class, nation and mankind in order to overcome and eliminate all kinds of incorrect and non-proletarian ideologies.

The Origin of the Various Erroneous Ideologies in the Party

Comrades! The Communist Party represents the brightest and the most progressive side of contemporary human society. It is here that the best ideology of humanity—Marxism-Leninism—exists and develops. Gathered together in the Communist Party are the world's most conscious, progressive, and sound persons with the highest sense of morality and righteousness. They persistently fight against all evil influences and struggle for the bright future and for the final emancipation of human society. The Chinese Communist Party is one of the best Communist Parties in the world. It is powerfully armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, and, at the same time, it has inherited the finest traditions of the many progressive thinkers and prominent men who have made great achievements in past generations in China's history. It stands for the most progressive and the brightest side

of Chinese society. In its organisation are gathered together the most splendid Chinese men and women. It has carried on a protracted struggle against the old, evil influences and traditions of Chinese society and it has accumulated rich experiences and gone through many trials over a long period of revolutionary struggle. All these are matters which we Communists can be proud of. Furthermore, we can assert, with full confidence and on every authority, that we shall certainly achieve final victory and final success.

However, even so, not everything in our organisation is perfect. Our organisation is not without defects or mistakes. Our ranks are not without unsound elements or even bad eggs. And it is still not impossible for such unsound elements and bad eggs to do foul and harmful things. That is to say in our bright Party there are still things of darkness, there is still a seamy side. These are the things which I have previously enumerated.

Once a family has taken in marriage an ugly son-in-law or daughter-in-law, it will not be possible to keep him or her from meeting the guests. With regard to the things of darkness, even if we try to adopt an attitude of 'not washing our dirty linen in public,' it will be impossible. The masses of people are in constant contact with our Party, our sympathisers will come to visit us, and a vast number of people, young men and women, who look up to us, desire to come here (Yenan—Translator) to learn from us or to join our Party. When they arrive here, apart from seeing all our progressive,

bright, and beautiful things and family-members, they will meet our ugly son-in-law or daughter-in-law, who in the presence of many people, talks nonsense, or makes a fool of himself or herself. In such cases some of our guests and new Party members will wonder. They will ask such question: Isn't the Communist Party supposed to be the most just? Aren't Communists the best men and women? Why are there still such ugly persons and bad things in the Communist Party? Isn't this strange?

Some young comrades, before they joined the Party, were very bitterly dissatisfied with existing society and felt that there was no way out and that only the Communist Party offered the brightest hope. They thought that after they joined the Party everything would be satisfactory and hopeful. But after they joined they began to feel that in the Party there were also certain mistakes, defects and things of darkness. Moreover, in fact, we cannot make them feel satisfied with everything (because what they find to be satisfactory may be more or less not in conformity with the interests of the Party and the revolution). What they now actually feel does not exactly coincide with their former ideals. Then they began to feel doubtful and puzzled and asked: 'Why are there also such things in the Communist Party?' Before some of them came to Yen'an and entered the Anti-Japanese University they thought that Yen'an and the Anti-Japanese University must be as good as they had dreamed them to be, but after they had arrived and entered the University they found that not everything was satisfactory. Then they again became puzzled, asking:

'Why are there still such unsatisfactory things at Yen'an and in the Anti-Japanese University?' Certain persons even became pessimistic and disappointed because they could not find answers to these questions.

With reference to these questions, in addition to sharpening our vigilance and instructing our Party members and cadres to pay serious attention to carefully treating and guiding our new Party members and those who are inclined to us, and not giving them an unfavourable impression, it is necessary to give an explanation to our comrades inside and outside of our Party.

Why are there still such bad things in the splendid organisation of our Party? The reason, I think, is very simple. It is that our Party is not a Party that has fallen from the heavens; it is a Party which has grown out of the existing Chinese society. Although in general our Party members are relatively the best Chinese men and women, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, they come, however, from every stratum of Chinese society and are still living in this society which is replete with the influences of the exploiters—selfishness, intrigues, bureaucracy and every kind of filthy thing. Most of our best Party members are unlikely to be influenced by such things, but is it so strange that there should still be other Party members who to a greater or lesser extent bring into our Party, or reflect in our Party, some of the filthy things of society? Is it anything strange that there are muddy stains on a person who crawls out of the mud and who constantly dabbles in the mud? It is not

strange at all. It is a matter of course. It would be very strange indeed if there were absolutely no such filthy things in the Communist Party. How could it be possible for such a filthy society to give birth to a Communist Party that is perfectly immune from filth? It is utterly inconceivable. It can be said that so long as there are still such filthy things, so long as there are still classes and the influences of the exploiting classes in society, there are bound to be such filthy things in the Communist Party to some extent.

Therefore the Communist Party is confronted with the task of carrying on the revolution and it is necessary for Communist Party members to carry on self-cultivation and steeling. Because of this, in addition to waging struggles against all dark and backward influences and things in society we must carry on inner-Party struggle to oppose the wavering, unsteady elements who reflect in the Party all kinds of dark and backward things in society. This constitutes the very basis of our inner-Party contradiction and inner-Party struggle. In the course of the various struggles inside and outside of the Party we seek to remould society, to gradually rid it of the dark, backward things and at the same time to remould our Party and Party members, to solve inner-Party contradictions so as to develop our Party and Party members to a sound and firm level.

Comrade Stalin said:

... the sources of contradiction within proletarian parties lie in two circumstances.

What are these circumstances?

Firstly, pressure by the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology on the proletariat and its Party in the course of the class struggle—pressure which the least steadfast strata of the proletariat, and that means the least steadfast strata of the proletarian Party, not infrequently give way to. It cannot be considered that the proletariat is completely isolated from society, that it stands outside society. The proletariat is part of society, connected with its various strata by numerous ties. But the Party is part of the proletariat. Therefore, the Party cannot be free of connections with, and the influence of, the various strata of bourgeois society. The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology on the proletariat and its Party finds expression in the fact that bourgeois ideas, morals, customs and moods not infrequently infiltrate into the proletariat and its Party through certain strata of the proletariat, connected in one way or another with bourgeois society.

Secondly, the heterogeneity of the working class, the presence of different strata within the working class. I think that the proletariat, as a class, may be divided into three strata.

One stratum is the basic mass of the proletariat, its core, its permanent part, it is that mass of 'thoroughbred' proletarians, which has already long ago severed its ties with the capitalist class. This stratum of the proletariat is the most dependable support of Marxism.

The second stratum consists of those who only recently came from the non-proletarian classes, from the peasants, the middle classes, the intelligentsia. These people who come from other classes, who only recently joined the ranks of the proletariat, have brought with them into the working class their customs, their habits, their hesitations, their instability. This stratum represents the most favourable

breeding ground for all sorts of anarchistic, semi-anarchistic and 'ultra-leftist' groupings.

Finally, there is a third stratum: the working class aristocracy, the elite of the working class, the best provided for section of the proletariat, with its tendency towards a compromise with the bourgeoisie, with its dominant tendency to adapt itself to the powers that be, with its striving 'to become a somebody'. This stratum represents the best breeding ground for outspoken reformists and opportunists.

Comrades! This is the origin of various non-proletarian ideologies, errors, defects and filthy things which still exist in our splendid proletarian Party. This is the origin of the various contradictions that still exist in the Party.

The Attitude Towards Various Erroneous Ideologies In the Party and Inner-Party Struggle

Because of the influence of the exploiting classes, because of the heterogeneity of the working class and of our Party, there arise among different Party members differences in ideology, viewpoint, custom, habit and mood; there arise among different Party members differences of varying degree in their philosophy of life, their world outlook, and their concept of ethics; and there arise among different Party members differences in methods of looking at things and ways of thinking with regard to various revolutionary problems. Some look at things in a correct objective manner, from the angle of their development and their inter-connection; while others look at things in an incorrect subjective manner, taking things to be in a state of stagnation and

isolation. Some only observe or exaggerate this aspect of things, while others only see or exaggerate that aspect of things; that is to say, they do not view problems as a whole in accordance with the laws of the development and relation of objective things, but view problems in a one-sided and subjective way; therefore differences as to the method of activity are brought about among Party members and differing ideas, views and arguments arise and in this way inner-Party struggles are aroused.

Such differences and arguments will inevitably become all the sharper, especially at turning points of the revolution, in conditions of ever-intensifying revolutionary struggles and growing hardships and under the influence and pressure of the exploiting class and its ideology. Therefore, the crux of the problem is not whether there are differences in ideology and opinions in the Party—there are bound to be such differences. The point is how to solve the contradictions within the Party, how to get rid of these differences, how to overcome the various erroneous non-proletarian ideologies in the Party. Naturally, it is only through inner-Party struggle that we can solve these contradictions, clear away the differences, and overcome the various erroneous ideologies. Just as Engels said: 'No one can at any time hide contradictions for long. Contradictions must be solved by means of struggle.'

Different kinds of people, both inside and outside of the Party, hold different kinds of views and adopt different kinds of attitudes towards the various errors and defects and undesirable things in the Party.

People of one kind do not see or are unwilling to see the defects, errors, and undesirable things in the Party. They are blindly optimistic and take it for granted that everything is all right in the Party; therefore they relax their vigilance and slacken their struggle against the defects, errors and all the undesirable things.

People of a second kind see nothing or almost nothing but errors, defects and undesirable things; they do not see the bright side of the Party. They consider that nothing is good in the Party; therefore they become pessimistic, disappointed and lose their confidence in the future of the Party. Or having seen such things, they become alarmed and regard such things as 'disastrous.'

Both of these views are incorrect and one-sided. Our view is different from both. On the one hand, we know that our Party is the most progressive, most revolutionary political party of the Chinese proletariat. On the other hand, we clearly realise that in our Party there are still various kinds of errors, defects and undesirable things, both large and small. At the same time we clearly understand the origin of these things, the method of gradually correcting them and eliminating them. Accordingly, we must strengthen our efforts and work and carry on the necessary struggle in order to advance our Party and the revolution.

Just as the standpoints and views of various persons are different, so there are also different kinds of attitudes towards the undesirable things in our Party.

The first kind of attitude is: To enjoy seeing the defects, errors and undesirable things in our Party and to gloat over them and by every means utilise and magnify them in order to undermine our Party (sometimes the method used is to oppose certain mistakes and to support the Party line in such a manner as to channel the mistakes in another direction). This is the attitude adopted by our enemies outside the Party and by the spies and trotskyites lurking within the Party.

The second kind of attitude is: To sympathise with, accept and learn from certain erroneous ideologies and bad examples in order to gratify certain personal ambitions and desires. People with this attitude consider that the existence of certain defects and errors in the Party is to their advantage, therefore they themselves consciously or unconsciously promote the development of such defects and errors and make use of them. This is the attitude adopted by opportunists and Party members of the most undesirable character.

The third kind of attitude is: To leave these errors, defects and undesirable things undisturbed and to let them take their own course. People with this attitude try to take things easy and are unwilling to struggle against these things. Or they fear inner-Party struggle and self-criticism, and consider these as harmful and not beneficial to the Party. Or they are apathetic and unwilling to recognise these phenomena or they adopt a perfunctory, conciliatory and eclectic attitude towards these phenomena. This is the attitude adopted by Party members who have but a weak sense of duty towards the Party

and who are profoundly imbued with liberalism and who are guilty of bureaucracy.

The fourth kind of attitude is: To harbour violent hatred towards the errors, defects and persons in the Party whose ideology is incorrect. People with this attitude bluntly sever relations with such persons, attempt to purge them and expel them from the Party at one stroke. But if they fail in this or if they themselves meet with rebuffs they give up and become disheartened and melancholy. They 'mind their own business,' keep themselves aloof or stand far away from the Party. This kind of absolute attitude also finds expression in a mechanical understanding of inner-Party struggle and self-criticism. They think that the more bitter the struggle among comrades in the Party the better; they raise every trifle to a so-called 'level of principle'; they label the tiniest fault as political opportunism, etc., and abuse the organisational methods of the Party or even methods used in struggles outside the Party to punish comrades. They do not carry on the inner-Party struggle in an appropriate and concrete manner in accordance with the objective requirements and the laws of development of objective things, but, on the contrary, they carry on the 'struggle' mechanically, subjectively, violently and unscrupulously. They consider that inner-Party struggle must be carried on under any circumstances, and the more frequent and the more bitter the struggle the better, with the result that they deliberately hunt for 'targets for struggle,' deliberately create inner-Party struggle, and seek to promote the work of the Party by relying upon

such mechanical 'struggle.' This is the attitude adopted by Party members who do not understand the origin of the contradictions within the Party and who lack knowledge of the methods of dealing with inner-Party differences and who only mechanically understand inner-Party struggle.

The fifth kind of attitude is the very attitude we should adopt, an attitude which is opposite to the four kinds previously mentioned.

1. We first of all recognise and make out which of the various phenomena, ideologies, diverse opinions and views are correct, beneficial to the long-range interests of the Party and the revolution and which of them are incorrect and detrimental to the long-range interests of the Party and the revolution. Maybe both sides to the dispute are wrong but a third opinion and view may be right. After sober analysis and consideration we decide our clear-cut attitude, and take up our stand on the correct side. We do not blindly follow or idolise anybody.
2. We study, promote, and develop all that is good and upright and uphold all the correct views and opinions in the Party. We do not imitate the bad examples or allow ourselves to be influenced by incorrect ideology.
3. We do not adopt a liberal attitude but carry on an irreconcilable struggle against various ideologies and views which are wrong in principle and against all undesirable phenomena in the Party in order to constantly try to overcome such mistakes and phenomena. We do

not temporise or permit the development of these mistakes and phenomena to jeopardise the interests of the Party. Nor do we fear this kind of inner-Party struggle.

4. We do not, however, adopt a mechanical, absolute attitude. We combine irreconcilability and clarity in principle with flexibility in the methods of struggle and with the spirit of patient persuasion. In the course of prolonged struggles, we seek to educate, criticise, steel and reform those comrades who possess erroneous ideologies but who are not incorrigible. In a concrete and appropriate way we carry on ideological struggles in the Party which are essential to the various questions of principle at different stages but do not recklessly carry on struggle in the Party in a subjective, mechanical and fanatical manner. Nor are we addicted to struggle.

5. By means of inner-Party struggle we consolidate the Party and enhance its discipline and prestige, and mete out organisational penalties to the incorrigible elements or even expel them from the Party in order to ensure the soundness and consolidation of our Party. This is the attitude which all good and mature Party members should adopt.

Of the five previously-mentioned attitudes only the fifth is the correct Bolshevik attitude. It is obvious that the first and second attitudes are incorrect. It is not at all strange that our enemies should make use of all our errors and defects in order to undermine our Party. In addition to constantly sharpening our vigilance, we should, on every occasion when defects and mistakes occur inside

the Party, reduce any opportunity which could possibly be utilised by the enemy. This is the bounden duty of every comrade who loves our Party. If in the course of inner-Party struggle a Party member ignores this point, or is only concerned with victory in the immediate struggle and his own momentary gratification, or if he does not reject assistance from bad elements, but joins in with them, or if he utilises certain forces and help from outside the Party in order to attain a certain goal in inner-Party struggle, he will commit an unforgivable political mistake and a gross violation of Party discipline.

Our Party members should reflect the correct ideology, learn from good examples and not from incorrect ideologies and bad examples in the Party. They should fight against such incorrect ideologies and bad examples. There are, however, still certain comrades in the Party who, apart from reflecting correct ideologies and following good examples, sometimes more or less reflect certain incorrect ideologies and follow bad examples. It seems easy for certain comrades to learn to be bad but hard for them to learn to be good. This deserves our serious attention.

These comrades, in the event of certain mistakes occurring in the Party, are apt to help to develop or magnify such mistakes either intentionally or unintentionally and in the course of inner-Party struggle they often line up on the wrong side, or for certain reasons they join the winning side. These comrades will scarcely make any progress, unless seriously prodded and steered.

It is, I think, quite clear to you students of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism that the comrades of the third kind who adopt a liberal and bureaucratic attitude towards the various errors, defects and undesirable phenomena are of course extremely wrong and entirely non-Bolshevik. For in *Party Construction* which you have studied, there is a whole chapter devoted to the necessity of self-criticism and ideological struggle in the Party. Lenin and Stalin have likewise on many occasions given clear and profound explanations on this point to which you may make reference, and the fourth and fifth chapters of the book *On Political Parties*, published by the Chinese Publishing House, deal with this question at great length, therefore I need not go into details now. What I do want to point out, however, is that there are still not a few comrades in the Party who adopt this kind of attitude. They have been very inadequate in carrying on self-criticism and particularly in self-criticism from the lower levels upwards, and in exposing various errors, defects, and undesirable phenomena in the Party in a responsible, formal, and sincere manner in order to correct and eliminate them. In this respect, we still need great improvement. But there is quite a lot of irresponsible, informal and cowardly criticism and discontent, backbiting and gossiping in the Party about this or that person or concerning this or that matter. These are two expressions of liberalism in the Party. This shows that the political development and courage on the part of some comrades in the revolutionary struggle are still inadequate and that the correct practice of inner-Party democracy is also still inadequate.

Certain comrades dare not dispense with face-saving, fear to give offence to others or to incur their animosity or counter-criticism. They would rather leave the various errors and defects in the Party alone and adopt a perfunctory attitude of 'muddling through' and 'the less trouble the better' and yet they criticize others behind their backs. This is not beneficial but detrimental to the Party. Such irresponsible criticism and talk may lead to unprincipled disputes and splits in the Party, and may offer opportunities to spies lurking in the Party and bad elements to carry on disruptive activities in the Party. Furthermore, the mistakes and defects in the Party will never be corrected by means of such kind of irresponsible criticism. Therefore the Party rules adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China prohibit such irresponsible criticism and talk and promote inner-Party, responsible and formal self-criticism which is beneficial to the Party.

Since various errors, defects and incorrect, non-proletarian ideologies exist in the Party, each of these incorrect ideologies may at some time develop into a certain trend in the Party, give rise to differences in the Party over certain principles and affect the Party's unity in action. If under such conditions we do not correctly carry on self-criticism in the Party and constantly expose and correct the various errors and defects, overcome all incorrect ideologies and conduct inner-Party struggle to overcome inner-Party differences, but instead adopt an eclectic attitude and 'middle' line and try to muddle through—then, 'we shall not be able to correctly educate

the Party, the proletariat, and the masses' (Stalin). 'We shall not be able to advance or develop'; 'we shall no longer be proletarian revolutionaries and we shall be doomed to failure.' (Lenin).

Stalin said:

The 'middle' line on questions of principle is a 'line' that muddles up one's head, a 'line' that covers up differences, a 'line' of ideological degeneration of the Party, a 'line' of ideological death of the Party.

The policy of the 'middle' line on questions of principle is not our policy. The policy of the 'middle' line on question of principle is the policy of a party that is declining and degenerating from day to day. Such a policy cannot but lead to the transformation of such a party into an empty bureaucratic organ, functioning fruitlessly and detached from the working masses. This road is not for us.

Therefore, . . . the overcoming of the contradictions within the Party by means of struggle is the law of development of our Party. . . . the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) grew and gained strength by overcoming the contradictions within the Party.

Therefore, it is incorrect to adopt a liberal and bureaucratic attitude; self-criticism must be developed and inner-Party struggle carried on to oppose all undesirable phenomena, and to overcome differences in the Party before it can be consolidated, developed and advanced.

Liberalism is manifested in another phenomenon. When a particular dispute has broken out in the Party many comrades put aside their regular work and for days and nights engage in inconsequential discussions or

deliberately indulge in denouncing everything in the Party, and in the course of such debates they weaken Party unity, disintegrate the solidarity of the cadres, weaken Party discipline, incapacitate the Party leadership, destroy Party prestige and convert militant Party organisations and the Party apparatus into debating societies. Cases like this have taken place more than once in the past in certain of our Party organisations. As Stalin says: 'This is not self-criticism but a scandal.' 'This is slandering the working class.' This is alien, anti-Bolshevik 'self-criticism.' It has nothing in common with the self-criticism we advocate. The reason why we need self-criticism is not to destroy Party prestige, undermine Party discipline, weaken Party leadership, but to promote Party prestige, consolidate Party discipline, and strengthen Party leadership.

The comrades of the fourth kind who adopt an absolute attitude are also wrong. This attitude is the opposite of liberalism—the third attitude mentioned above. Those who adopt this attitude do not understand that the incorrect ideologies in the Party have a deep-rooted social origin and cannot be eliminated at one stroke. All comrades in the Party, at different times, are more or less apt to reflect some incorrect ideology of society. Only people like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, people so pure, so firm, and so correct, keen and profound in observing things can be perfectly free from the influence of these ideologies. That is why Dr. Sun Yat-sen called Lenin 'the sage of the revolution.' It is inevitable that everyone of us will commit some mistakes

in our work. If we do not tolerate and make allowances but absolutely reject and even eliminate all comrades who to some degree or other reflect non-proletarian ideologies of society and who commit some mistakes but who are not incorrigibly bad elements, then our Party cannot be built up. The ultimate result of such rejection and elimination may lead to the eventual elimination from the Party of the very comrades who adopt this absolute attitude, because they are not 'sages of the revolution' and they themselves cannot help committing mistakes. For example, in the past some comrades committed mistakes during the campaign to suppress reactionary elements because they adopted this absolute attitude. Comrades who adopt this attitude do not specifically understand that in the course of the struggle for the cause of Communism, the greatest and most difficult task is to transform mankind into selfless citizens of Communist society. If they understand this point, if they understand that even mankind with all its weaknesses, can in the long course of struggle, be steered, educated, and converted into highly civilised Communists, why can they not educate and reform Party members who have joined the Party but who still retain to some degree or other the remnants of the ideology of the old society?

Naturally, it needs long, patient education and steeling to reform and educate these Party members. It is a difficult task. However, if we are reluctant to undertake this small, difficult task and shrink from it, how can we talk about changing the world and mankind? Since we have made up our minds to undertake, and not

to shrink from, the unprecedentedly arduous task of changing the world and mankind what other arduous tasks in the world today can daunt us? Party members who believe in the Communist philosophy of life and world outlook are dauntless and unafraid of any difficulties and hardships, and at the same time understand that the course of progress of world events is a tortuous one. The comrades who adopt an absolute attitude do not yet understand the arduous and tortuous nature of the cause of Communism. If they fear hardships, desire to travel a straight road, to eliminate at one stroke all the undesirable things, and immediately to leap into their ideal world, they will certainly run their heads against the wall. After they have run their heads against the wall they will become pessimistic and disheartened, lose their confidence in the future of the cause of Communism, thus exposing the very substance of their non-proletarian ideology. What a pity it is that there are still not a few comrades in our Party who more or less adopt such an attitude!

The reason why inner-Party struggle is necessary is that differences over principles inside the Party are brought about in the course of the development of the Party and the struggle of the proletariat; at such times, differences can be overcome and contradictions solved 'only by a fight for one or the other principle, for one or the other goal of the struggle, for one or the other method in the struggle leading to that goal.' No compromise will be of any avail. Inner-Party struggle is necessary not because we like to struggle or to argue. That is to say,

when questions have developed to the level of principle and cannot be solved by any means but struggle, we should unflinchingly carry on inner-Party struggle to solve them. It does not mean that we have to conduct inner-Party struggle in a fussy and uncompromising way and with a long face, against all dissenting views concerning current policies and purely practical matters. Comrade Stalin said:

We can and must reach all kinds of agreements with dissenters within the Party on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical character.

When opportunist ideology manifests itself and differences in principle take place in our Party, we must carry on struggle to oppose these erroneous principles and opportunism and overcome them; it does not mean that when there is no difference in principle, no opportunism in the Party we subjectively and deliberately try to magnify some difference in opinion among the comrades concerning certain purely practical matters and take it for 'difference in principle,' and deliberately 'hunt' for certain comrades as 'opportunists,' regarding them as 'targets' in inner-Party struggle. It does not mean that we think that the work of the Party, the development of the Party and the victory of the proletarian revolutionary struggle will be miraculously expanded simply by relying upon intensifying the fire against such 'targets.' Of course, this is not conducting inner-Party struggle seriously but is simply making a mockery of the Party, and making child's play of inner-Party struggle, which is of an extremely serious nature.

It is necessary to prod, publicly criticize or even mete out organisational penalties to certain comrades in the Party who, having committed mistakes in principle and displayed opportunist ideology, turn a deaf ear to persuasion, ignore Party criticism, and furthermore persist in their errors and become so headstrong and obstinate as to struggle against the policy of the Party or adopt a double-faced attitude. But we should not attack or punish comrades who have committed mistakes if they do not persist in their mistakes and after discussion and persuasion, are willing to correct their mistakes and give up their former points of view, or when they are calmly thinking over their mistakes or are dispassionately discussing them with other comrades. In carrying on self-criticism and inner-Party struggle we do not mean that the grimmer the face the better nor do we mean that the more comrades we punish the better. The highest aim of self-criticism and inner-Party struggle is to effectively educate the Party, to educate the comrades who have committed mistakes, to correct errors and to consolidate the Party. If this aim can be attained by means of peaceful discussion, persuasion and criticism instead of pulling a long face, engaging in heated discussion, punishing or attacking comrades—if this is possible, then of course, it is all the better. However, during certain periods in the past, we hardly ever heard in the Party openly expressed views to the effect that such inner-Party peace and solidarity resulting from the absence of differences over principle were both desirable and essential. According to some seemingly crazy people, inner-Party peace is bad even if it results from unity in prin-

ciple and line, and only by deliberately creating inner-Party struggle out of nothing can we be called 'Bolsheviks.' Of course people of this kind are not 'Bolsheviks' at all but are almost incorrigible people and careerists usurping the name of 'Bolshevik.'

This is the reason why the four previously-mentioned attitudes are wrong. This is the answer to the question as to what attitude we should adopt in dealing with the errors, defects and undesirable phenomena in the Party. As a matter of fact, it is through the struggle against the things of darkness inside and outside the Party that we seek to change the world and mankind, as well as our Party and ourselves. Inner-Party struggle is the reflection of the class struggle outside the Party. In the course of the class struggle outside the Party—the revolutionary mass struggle—the Party steels, develops and consolidates itself and at the same time, in the course of the inner-Party struggle achieves solidarity and unity so as to be able to lead the revolutionary mass struggle systematically, correctly and effectively.

Therefore, it is entirely wrong and favourable to the enemy to adopt a liberal attitude towards the various mistakes, defects and undesirable phenomena in the Party, to try to deny differences over principle in the Party, to evade inner-Party struggle, to cover up inner-Party contradictions and 'muddle through,' because it is against the laws of development of the class struggle and against our fundamental standpoint of changing the world and mankind through struggle.

Therefore, it is also wrong to separate inner-Party struggle from the class struggle outside the Party—the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses—and to turn it into empty talk because the Party cannot steel, develop and consolidate itself if it divorces itself from the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses.

However, it is not right, either, to carry the matter to another extreme—to adopt an absolute attitude towards the comrades who have defects and mistakes but are not entirely incorrigible, and to mechanically carry on, or even subjectively create, inner-Party struggle, because this will undermine the Party, afford opportunities to the enemy to attack our Party and is against the laws of development of the Party. We should not break with the honest comrades in the Party the moment they have committed some mistakes but should seek to persuade, educate, and steel them in a considerate and sympathetic manner. We should not publicly attack them or expel them from the Party unless it is absolutely necessary.

In spite of certain errors and defects, certain individual, isolated, bad phenomena that still exist in our Party we are fully confident that in the development of the working class movement and in the great revolutionary struggle of the masses, we can and shall certainly eliminate these things. The history of the past more than ten years' struggle of the Chinese Communist Party, its great progress in all respects, and the history of the development of the working class movement in the various countries of the world have thoroughly convinced us on this point.

Inner-Party struggle is an indispensable and essential component part of the revolutionary struggle of the Party. Therefore our comrades should not only be steeled and cultivated in the course of the struggle outside the Party, but also be steeled and cultivated in the course of inner-Party struggle on two fronts. However, not a few of our comrades still do not thoroughly realise this point and lack self-cultivation and steeling in this respect. This is manifested in many unprincipled struggles in the Party, and in the following examples: some of our comrades, especially those who have worked for a relatively long time in the army, never vacillated, complained or felt disheartened in the course of the struggle against the counter-revolution, no matter how cruel and hard the struggle was or how many attacks, wrongs, or injustices they suffered. But during inner-Party struggle they could hardly bear any criticism, attacks and injustices, not even a single word. Or they were suspicious and thought that what other people said alluded to them and on this account they would complain and become extremely disheartened. Comrades, we cannot but pay attention to such phenomena.

We ought to say that they are in general very good comrades because they resolutely fought against the counter-revolution and regarded the Party as their affectionate mother. After having undergone many hard battles against the counter-revolution and returned to the arms of their own great mother they expect to meet with encouragement, consolation and affection and not more attacks, criticism and injustices. It is only natural

that they should have such expectations. However, what they have not taken into account or into full account is that since there are still various errors and defects in the Party it is necessary to conduct inner-Party struggle in which every comrade must take part. It is inevitable in the course of inner-Party struggle for everybody to meet with correct or incorrect criticisms, attacks or even injustice and humiliation. This must be undergone by every comrade. It is not because our Party is merciless, but because this is an inevitable phenomenon of the Party in the course of the class struggle. However, these comrades fail to take this point into account, therefore the moment they come across such phenomena they are surprised and feel exceptionally miserable and disheartened.

In this respect, I think that our comrades should on the one hand, take care to unite with other comrades, treat them in a sincere and candid manner and should not hurt their feelings by casual malicious remarks, or throw sharp sarcastic remarks at them, and especially should not irresponsibly criticize comrades behind their backs. With the exception of those who are most obstinate and who persist in their mistakes and do every kind of wrong thing in the Party, we should, in general, clearly and sincerely admonish and criticize, in their presence, and in a considerate and helpful manner, comrades who have committed mistakes. This is what we, and especially our comparatively responsible comrades, should pay attention to. We should bear in mind an old Chinese maxim: 'If the body is cut with a sharp knife, the wound will heal, but ill-feeling roused by

sarcasm will never be forgiven.' On the other hand, our comrades on their part should always be prepared for inner-Party struggle and should have the courage to bear criticism, attacks or misunderstandings and injustices and especially should not be aroused to anger by other's irresponsible and even incorrect criticism and rumours. Besides formal and mutual criticism made among the comrades in Party organisations, so long as our ideology and behaviour are correct, we may, if necessary, make some explanations in answer to the irresponsible criticism and misunderstanding by others, and if such explanations are of no avail we had better let others say what they like. We should also bear in mind two other old Chinese maxims: 'Who is not gossiped about by others behind his back, and who does not gossip about others?' 'When the storm rises, sit calmly in the fishing boat.' There is not a single person in the world who is not misunderstood in some way by others. On the one hand, we should be able to bear any misunderstanding and not involve ourselves in unprincipled struggles; on the other hand, we should always keep ourselves on the alert and examine our own ideology and behaviour.

That is to say, we should not casually hurt other comrades' feelings by our remarks but we should be able to bear any remarks others may cast at us.

We are radically opposed to unprincipled disputes in the Party. Since they are 'unprincipled' they are harmful and unprofitable to the Party. Since they are 'unprincipled' there is nothing right or wrong, good or

bad about them. We should not try to find out who is right and who is wrong, or who is good and who is bad in unprincipled struggles, because these matters cannot be straightened out. We are radically opposed to this kind of unprincipled struggle and ask comrades who are engaged in it to stop it unconditionally and return to questions of principle. This is the policy we should adopt in unprincipled disputes. What shall we do, if in spite of prohibition by the Party and opposition by us, unprincipled disputes in the Party still take place or many unprincipled questions are involved in certain struggles over principle? What shall we do if unprincipled questions are thrust upon us and we become involved in them? In cases like this, we must concentrate our attention on the questions of principle and not on the unprincipled ones and must seriously deal with unprincipled disputes in accordance with the above-mentioned policies, firmly maintaining our standpoint to the end without becoming entangled in unprincipled disputes. We should not return 'wrong' for 'wrong.' We should consistently stand upon the 'right' side to oppose the 'wrongs' of others. This is not very easy for some of our comrades to do. Therefore we must carry on steeling and cultivation.

In a word, the aim of our ideological cultivation is fundamentally to steel us as loyal, pure, progressive, model Party members and cadres. We should do the following:

1. Build up our Communist philosophy of life, world outlook and firm Party and class standpoint through the study of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary practice.

2. Examine our own ideology, behaviour, correct all erroneous ideas and at the same time look at questions and other comrades on the basis of the Communist philosophy of life, world outlook and firm Party standpoint.

3. Constantly adopt an appropriate attitude and method in the struggle against various erroneous ideologies in the Party, especially those that affect the revolutionary struggle of the time.

4. Strictly control ourselves in ideology, speech and behaviour. We should particularly control those political ideologies, speeches and activities which concern the revolutionary struggle at the time by taking a firm standpoint and by sticking to principle. In addition it would be best to pay attention even to many 'trifles' (private life, behaviour, etc.). But as regards other comrades, except on questions of principle and important political questions, our restrictions imposed upon them should not be too severe. We should not try to find fault over 'trivialities.'

Comrades! This is, in my opinion, what is meant by the fundamental ideological cultivation of Communist Party members.

APPENDICES

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF MAN

(Written in June, 1941)

IN A CLASS SOCIETY, man's class character forms the very nature and substance of man.

In a class society all human beings exist as human beings of a particular class. Therefore, the social character of man is determined by his class status. As the class status of one person is different from that of another, so is his social character. In the past, Mencius, Kautze, Hsuntze* and others had argued 'whether human nature was good or evil' without ever achieving any result. This was because they did not understand or deliberately wanted to cover up the class differences in the social character of man. In a class society men's ideas of good and evil are different. What is regarded as good by the

* All the three were leading Confucian scholars of the latter part of Chou Dynasty (1122-255 B.C.). They held different views with regard to human nature. Mencius was of the opinion that human nature was primarily good. Hsuntze regarded it as evil while Kautze thought that it was likely to change.

exploiters is regarded as evil by the exploited, and vice versa. Naturally, to discuss the question as to whether human nature is good or evil without taking into consideration the relationship of classes will get nowhere. Likewise, if we do not adopt the proletarian standpoint we cannot judge how good or how bad certain people are, still less can we judge the party spirit of these people.

The class character of man is determined by his class status. That is to say, if a given group of people have for a long time held the status of a given class, i.e., a given position in social production, and have for a long time produced, lived and struggled in a given manner they will create their particular mode of life, and their particular interests, demands, psychologies, ideas, customs, viewpoints, manners and relations with other groups of people and things, etc. All these are different from, or contrary to, those created by other groups of people. In this manner the particular characteristics of men, their particular class character, are formed.

As men of different classes in society have different interests, demands, ideas and customs, so they have different ways of looking at, and different policies in dealing with, everything in society and history—such as politics, economics, culture, etc. The ruling classes enact laws and systems in accordance with their interests, demands and viewpoints. As a result, all political, economic and cultural systems in society become tools of the ruling classes and all are permeated with a class character.

In a class society all ideas, utterances, behaviour, social systems and doctrines of men are permeated with a class character, representing the particular interests and demands of certain classes. From the different demands, doctrines, ideas, utterances and behaviour of men, we can find out their different class character.

For example, natural agricultural economy and the method of handicraft production are the basis of feudal society. In such production the feudal lords are in a position to exploit the surplus labour of the peasants. They do not work but rely upon land rent and corvee as a means of living. Therefore they want to get hold of more land and to possess it permanently. They demand that the peasants pay more land rent and contribute more unpaid services, and recognise as justified their right of trampling on and exploiting the peasants, thus giving rise to their feudal sectionalism, swallowing-up of others, extravagance, laziness, cruelty and social rank. Such are the characteristics of the feudal class.

The method of machine production in modern industry is the basis of capitalist society. In such production the bourgeoisie own the means of production and all the products with which to exploit the surplus labour of the proletariat. Their livelihood is dependent upon the surplus value created by the workers. Such being the case, they want free buying and selling of commodities and of labour power, and free competition. They use economic means to destroy their competitors and to create for themselves an economic and political monopoly. They

claim the inviolability of their private property and demand that the workers give their surplus labour in greater quantity (longer working hours and speed-up) and in better quality (better and more experienced skill) for less pay. They also want the workers to recognise as justified their right to become rich and to monopolise the wealth of society, thus giving rise to their competition, monopoly, extravagance and the centralised and mechanical character of their organisation. Such are the characteristics of the bourgeoisie.

Take the case of the peasants. The peasants have for a long time been tied to the land and have been engaged in production in a form that is scattered, independent, simple, self-sufficing and with little mutual co-operation. Their way of life is simple and individualistic and they bear the burden of land rent and unpaid services, etc. Thus, the ground is prepared for their lax ways, conservatism, narrow-mindedness, backwardness, outlook as of private owners, revolt against the feudal lords and their demand for political equality, etc. Such are the characteristics of the peasantry.

The proletariat are concentrated in big industries, carrying on production with a minute division of labour; all their actions are governed by machines and mutual-dependence; they are wage-labourers who sell their labour power and who do not possess any means of production; they rely on wages as a means of livelihood and their basic interests do not conflict with those of other toilers. Hence the ground is prepared for their great solidarity,

mutual co-operation, sense of organisation and discipline, progressive outlook and demand for public ownership of property, revolt against all exploiters, militancy, tenacity, etc. Such are the characteristics of the proletariat.

All exploiting classes deceive and oppress the exploited and fight among themselves for the surplus products or surplus value of the exploited, thus giving rise to their deceitfulness, oppression of man and mutual plundering. Many wars in history were caused by the exploiting classes fighting among themselves over the seizure and division of the surplus products and surplus value produced by the exploited.

A feature common to all exploiters is that they build their happiness upon the sufferings of other people. Sacrificing the happiness of all mankind or the great majority of the people, subjecting them to hunger, cold and humiliation in order to provide special privileges and special enjoyment for an individual or for a small number of people—such is the foundation of the 'noble character,' 'greatness' and 'respectability' and moral basis of all exploiters.

The reverse is the case with the proletariat and the Communists. They want to build their happiness upon the basis of sharing their happiness with all others. In the struggle for the emancipation of the broad masses of the working people and of all mankind, they seek to emancipate themselves and eliminate the special privileges of the small number of people. Such is the foundation

dation of the noble character, greatness, respectability of the Communists and the foundation of Communist ethics.

Such are the various class characteristics of men in a class society. These class characteristics are gradually formed as a result of the specific position of men who engage for a long time in production, their specific relations of production and specific way of life. They become a kind of nature of men. This nature is social in character.

Party spirit is the highest crystallisation of such class characteristics of men. Therefore men possess party spirit of various kinds: The party spirit of the feudal class, the bourgeoisie, the proletariat, etc.

The Party spirit of a Communist is the highest crystallisation of the class character, the substance and the interests of the proletariat. The steeling and cultivation of a Communist in the Party spirit is the remoulding of his substance.

The Communist Party should develop the many great and progressive characteristics of the proletariat to the highest level. Every Communist should remould himself in accordance with these characteristics and equip himself with these excellent characteristics. This is the remoulding of substance. All Party members who do not come from the ranks of the industrial workers possess non-proletarian characteristics, and therefore need all the more to be remoulded.

Nor are the characteristics of the proletariat unchangeable. It was in the course of the birth and growth of the proletariat that the characteristics of the proletariat took shape, grew and finally gave rise to Marxism-Leninism. During the period of socialist transformation in the future and the period when socialism is passing into Communism, the proletariat will continuously change society and the substance of mankind, and, at the same time, its own substance and characteristics. In Communist society class distinctions between men will die out and so will the class characteristics of men. Then the common character of mankind, namely common human nature, will be formed. This represents the entire process of the remoulding of the substance of mankind.

However, in the history of the world only the Communists and Marxists acknowledge their own Party spirit and class character as well as those of all other people and of all historical and social matters. This is also due to the fact that the special class status of the proletariat enables the Communists to openly recognise and declare this truth. The declaration of this truth does no harm to the proletariat but deals a serious blow to the exploiting classes for their treachery is exposed and they will be placed in a more difficult position to uphold the interests of a small number of people. None of the other parties or classes admit their party spirit and class character and they try to describe themselves as if they were 'super-party' or 'super-class.' As a matter of fact, behind this nonsense about 'super-party,' and 'super-class,'

are hidden as many vested interests as there are exploiting classes. Before the exploited they dare not admit their party spirit and class character. Because of their illusions and ignorance the petty-bourgeoisie accept this fallacy of 'super-party,' 'super-class.'

The petty-bourgeoisie is characterised by its indulgence in illusions and by its fear of serious practice and struggle.

A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHOR

LIU SHAO-CHI, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, is one of the leaders of the contemporary revolutionary movement and the trade union movement in China.

Liu Shao-chi was born in 1898 in Ninghsiang county, Hunan Province. In 1920, he joined the Socialist Youth League of China (the predecessor of the Communist Party of China), which was founded in the same year. In 1921, the Communist Party of China was established and Liu Shao-chi joined the Party in the same year. In the spring of 1922, he was appointed to the Secretariat of the China Labour Organisation, the forerunner of the All-China Federation of Labour.

From that time on to the defeat of the revolution in 1927 Liu Shao-chi led the revolutionary trade union movement in China.

After the defeat of the revolution in 1927 Liu Shao-chi went underground and continued to direct the trade union movement. In the autumn of 1932, he went to the revolutionary base in Kiangsi and took charge of the workers' movement in the Red Areas.

From 1936 to 1942, Liu Shao-chi served successively as secretary of the North Bureau, Central Plains Bureau and Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Since 1932, Liu Shao-chi has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. From 1943 onwards, he has been a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Council.

When the People's Republic of China was inaugurated on October 1, 1949, Liu Shao-chi became Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government.

In addition to *How to Be a Good Communist*, other books by Liu Shao-chi include *On Inner-Party Struggle*, *On the Party*, *Internationalism and Nationalism* and other important writings.

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February 16
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SPEECH BY M. A. SUSLOV

*Member of the presidium of the central committee of the Communist
Party of the Soviet Union.*

16 February

COMRADES, in his report Comrade Khrushchov gave a clear, profound and comprehensive analysis of our party's activities in the period under review. He surveyed its outstanding successes, achieved under the leadership of the central committee, and formulated its tasks in the effort for the continued advance of communism.

The results of the central committee's activities are there for all to see. And in assessing these results our congress, the whole of our party, and all the men and women of the Soviet Union, have every reason to approve them with a feeling of the deepest pride and satisfaction.

The central committee proved itself equal to the gigantic tasks with which it had to contend in the period between the 19th and 20th Congresses. Its general line, both in home and foreign affairs, has been a correct and genuinely Leninist line.

For Lenin taught us that the party's policy can be successful only if it takes into consideration the requirements of the situation, only if the party is always in close contact with the realities of life. And if we examine the period between the congresses in this light, we can safely say that throughout these years the party, headed by its central committee, has been especially close to realities, to the people, has been especially far-seeing in judging the situation at home and abroad, has correctly sized up the requirements of that situation, displaying a creative approach to the solution of both economic and political problems.

The central committee's report fully reflects the creative, militant spirit which has been characteristic of our party's work since the 19th Congress, and that supreme degree of initiative and activity which is characteristic of the work of our central committee in marshalling the forces of the party and the people for the implementation of our political line.

The report sums up the impressive results of socialist construction both in this country and in the people's democracies, the results of the struggle waged by the progressive forces of the world for the easing of international tension, national independence and the democratic rights of the people, for lasting peace and universal security. Our people, and progressive people throughout the world, will derive from facts and figures cited in the report, and from the theoretical propositions it puts forward and the political conclusions it draws, fresh faith in the ultimate triumph of peace, democracy and socialism.

However, at the same time, the central committee's report, in complete conformity with the Leninist tradition, does not seek to conceal from the party and the people the shortcomings and defects in our work and the problems that still await a solution. This shows that our party is not

prepared to rest content with its achievements to date, and is setting new and still bigger tasks. A critical analysis of the work done is an indispensable condition of Bolshevik leadership. For only in this way can we avoid stagnation and stimulate a constant advance to what is new, better and progressive. We were taught that by the great Lenin.

"The important thing," he said, "is not to rest content with the ability acquired from past experience, but *always to move ahead*, always to *seek for more*, always to go from easier tasks to more difficult ones. Without this, there can be no progress in general, and no progress in socialist construction" (*Works*, Russian edition, Vol. 28, p. 172).

The Struggle for Lasting Peace and Socialism

COMRADES, the party's intense activity in the sphere of foreign policy during the period under review has been based on a profound understanding of the distinctive features of the present international situation and of the tasks that confront the progressive forces of mankind. On every single international problem that is agitating the minds of the peoples, the Soviet Union has stated its position and has contributed in a very large measure towards a solution.

In this sphere our party has been an active, guiding factor, constantly endeavouring to find practical and concrete solutions for all the problems on which the fate of peace depends. And as a result of this active peace policy of the Soviet Union and the joint actions of all the peace-loving nations, considerable progress has been attained in the settlement of many issues. On other issues, the Soviet proposals are definitely the most realistic and constructive, and if no settlement of these issues has so far been achieved, that is not our fault.

The implementation of Soviet foreign policy, formulated by our party, has always been strictly in keeping with principles; but at the same time it has been highly flexible. While resolutely repelling every attempt at dictation by certain powers, the Soviet Union has always shown its readiness to reach agreement, provided it is based on mutual respect for one another's interests.

The active efforts of the Soviet Union and other peace-loving nations have culminated in important results. First, there has been a definite measure of relaxation in the international tension that has existed for many years. Second, the forces of peace, democracy and socialism have considerably strengthened their positions. The international prestige and influence of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist camp has increased substantially. On the other hand, the position of the imperialist camp has been considerably weakened. That is admitted, albeit reluctantly, even by such men as Mr. Acheson, a former U.S. Secretary of State. The *Washington Post and Times-Herald* recently quoted him as saying that "if we look around us we will be hard put to find any area in which the events of the past few years have not moved to our disadvantage".¹

The cause of peace has gained added strength in this past period through the extension of friendly contacts and co-operation between the Soviet Union and the peace-loving nations of Asia. And the peace forces have grown in strength and scope in the capitalist countries as well. Evidence

¹ Retranslated from the Russian.

of this is provided, for instance, by the recent French elections, in which the parties of the left considerably extended and consolidated their position, both among the population generally and in parliament.

But, of course, it would be wrong to rest content with these results. Much more remains to be done to convert the present measure of relaxation of international tension into lasting peace. The people's struggle for peace can and must be raised to a higher plane, particularly in connection with the attempt now being made by certain elements in the West to revive the "cold war".

As for the Soviet Union, it will continue to be guided by Lenin's thesis that the socialist and capitalist systems can co-exist in peace. And it will continue its tireless efforts for the further relaxation of international tension and for the strengthening of peace, for this is completely in accordance with the interests of our peoples and with the interests of socialism.

The discussion at this congress on basic questions of internal and international development brings out with much greater clarity the meaning of our present-day struggle and the place it holds in history. The congress enables us to gain a deeper understanding of the trend of development in this age of momentous changes in the life of all nations, an age in which the imperialist system is collapsing and the world system of socialism is taking shape.

Such fundamental questions of contemporary international development as the peaceful co-existence of the two systems, the possibility of preventing war in our age, the forms which the transition to socialism will take in different countries, and our attitude toward Social-Democratic parties, posed in Comrade Khrushchov's report, are of immense importance.

The treatment of these questions in Comrade Khrushchov's report provides a concrete example of the creative application and development of the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Khrushchov has given convincing answers to questions uppermost in the minds of people everywhere—answers based on a Marxist analysis of the present international situation and of the epoch-making changes that have taken place since the war, and on a study of the new experience accumulated by our own party, the fraternal Communist Parties and the world workers' movement.

Comrade Khrushchov has demonstrated that, at the present state of history, the question of whether war is inevitable must be treated differently from the way it was treated before the First and Second World Wars. For today the correlation of forces on the world scene has changed radically in favour of the forces of peace, and against the forces of war. Certainly, inasmuch as imperialism still exists, there will also exist the economic basis that breeds wars, and for that reason the danger of the arch-reactionary monopoly interests precipitating fresh war gambles, particularly against socialist countries, is by no means eliminated. Consequently, there must be no complacency on this subject, no let-up of attention where the further strengthening of our country's defensive might is concerned. But there is now no fatal inevitability about war. For today, in the new historical conditions, there are powerful forces disposing of effective means for preventing the imperialists from unleashing war and—should they try to unleash it—for crushing the aggressors and ending the war, and with it the system of capitalism—a system which not only dooms the vast majority of the popu-

lation, the workers, to cruel exploitation, virtual disfranchisement, malnutrition and poverty, but also to periodical bloodbaths.

The imperialist rulers cannot but take these new historical conditions into account. Yet, it is self-evident that the prevention of war and aggression is not an automatic process. War can be prevented only through a resolute struggle for peace, in which all the peace forces act in a united and vigorous way to ward off the menace of war and aggression, and display vigilance with regard to the fomentors of war, expose their designs in good time and keep the peoples on the alert and ready for action.

The knowledge that in this age war is no longer fatally inevitable, is no longer unavoidable, will undoubtedly stimulate further expansion of the peace movement and will be a source of inspiration to every peacelover.

Of no less significance is the thesis expounded in Comrade Khrushchov's report on the variety of forms which the transition to socialism will assume in different countries.

The epoch-making changes in the international situation have produced more favourable conditions not only for the peace effort but also for the struggle for socialism, for the transition of non-socialist countries to socialism, facilitating a greater variety in the forms this transition will take in different countries.

The emergence and development of the socialist system in a whole number of countries has fully confirmed Lenin's brilliant forecast that, though the principal and basic features of the advance to socialism will be common and identical, the actual transition to socialism will not be the same in all countries, and each nation will make its own distinctive contribution in one or another form of democracy, one or another variety of proletarian dictatorship, one or another rate at which socialist transformations will be effected in the various aspects of social life.

The experience of countries where the socialist system has already been established has confirmed that the transition to socialism requires that political leadership of the state be in the hands of the working class headed by its vanguard. And it is recognition of this basic and decisive condition for the transition to socialism that constitutes the principal difference between revolutionary Marxists and reformists. Working class political leadership of the state is essential in order—within a shorter or longer period, depending on concrete conditions—to deprive the capitalist class of the means of production and convert them into public property, in order to organise successful resistance to possible attempts by the overthrown exploiting classes to restore their rule, and in order to organise socialist construction.

The march of events has likewise confirmed that in each of the socialist countries, though the basic features of their development have been the same, and though there is fraternal and mutual assistance and utilisation of experience, and notably the assistance and experience of the Soviet Union, there has also been much that has been constructively new and unique in the way the working class has won a decisive part in the administration of the state, and in the subsequent organisation of socialist construction.

The question naturally arises: What about the future? Will there be new forms of transition to socialism? That question is of cardinal importance. For the people's urge to socialism is irresistible, the power of attraction of

socialist ideas increases from day to day, and the process will be accelerated by the continued achievements of socialism in this country, in China and all the people's democracies. Progressive minds in many countries are, in this situation, giving thought to what paths their own peoples will follow in the change-over to socialism.

Comrade Khrushchov has given an absolutely clear, Marxist reply to that all-important question. It is quite probable that the transition to socialism in capitalist countries will produce a great multiplicity of forms. This will be an expression of the more favourable general situation, and of the concrete specific features pertaining in each country.

It would be wrong, however, to assert that under all circumstances the transition to socialism will inevitably be attended by civil war. In this respect very much depends on the relation of forces within the given country and on the international scene, on the degree of organisation and political understanding of the revolutionary classes, and on the strength of the resistance offered by the reactionary classes. When the proletariat of Russia directed the revolution in this country, it faced a united front of the imperialist powers. Today the progressive forces in other countries have a much more favourable prospect before them, for new conditions have taken shape in the capitalist world. The political struggle there centres around such issues as the defence of peace, the democratic freedoms and national independence. That being so, the working class and its political parties have every opportunity of uniting, on the basis of a common democratic platform, the overwhelming majority of the nation—the peasantry, the lower middle class, intellectuals, and even the patriotically minded sections of the bourgeoisie. This, obviously, will make the victory of the working class easier.

However, even in these conditions, in a number of capitalist countries, in those where the reactionary forces and the military and police machine are especially powerful, the transition to socialism will be attended by frenzied resistance from the exploiting classes, and, consequently, by sharp revolutionary struggle on the part of the working class. On the other hand, in those capitalist countries where the reactionary forces and the military and police machine are less powerful, the possibility of a peaceful course of the revolution and resultant transition to socialism is not to be ruled out. In particular, the possibility is not to be ruled out of the working class peacefully coming to power through a parliamentary majority and the conversion of parliament into a genuine people's assembly. Such a parliament, relying on the support of the mass revolutionary movement of the proletariat, the working peasantry and all progressive sections of the population, would be able to break the resistance of the reactionary forces and carry out the socialist transformation of society.

The enemies of communism depict Communists as confirmed believers in armed insurrection, violence and civil war under all circumstances. That is slanderous nonsense, an attempt to smear the Communists, and the working class which they represent. It stands to reason that the Communists and the working class prefer the least painful forms of transition from one social system to another. But the forms of this transition, as Comrade Khrushchov has demonstrated here, depend on concrete historical conditions. Moreover, the application of more peaceful or more violent methods depends not so

much on the working class as on the degree and form of resistance offered by the exploiting classes, which do not want voluntarily to relinquish their wealth, political power and other privileges.

The central committee's report sets forth the principles governing our party's attitude to Social-Democratic parties in the present stage.

No one will deny that the cleavage in the international labour movement, at a time when the energies of the peoples should be united to combat the war danger, is doubly impermissible. The movement is faced with problems of overwhelming importance, and on these we can find common ground with the Social Democrats. It should be possible, therefore, to establish working contact, closer relations and co-operation on these problems. Such a possibility arises, above all, from the fact that, in the present situation, the paramount issues confronting the labour movement are the defence of peace, national freedom and democracy. A leftward swing of the masses is to be observed in many capitalist countries. Peace-loving sentiments are strong among the vast majority of the rank and file of the Socialist Parties, Christian trade unions and other organisations.

It is to be hoped that the idea of unity will steadily gain support among the various sections of the working class and will find expression in practical action. But this will not happen of itself, spontaneously. It will depend largely on us Communists, on our efforts to attain this goal.

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of the theoretical propositions on pressing international problems set forth in the central committee's report. They will go a very long way towards consolidating the forces of progress; they will help all progressive people who are working to promote peace and replace the obsolete capitalist system by a new, progressive social system which will bring the peoples liberation from exploitation and war, from social and national oppression in whatever shape or form.

Party Organisational Work Must be Raised to the Level Demanded by the New Tasks

COMRADES, in the period under review the party dealt with questions relating to the country's internal development with no less vigour and initiative. This activity was based on a clear understanding of the pressing requirements for the further development of the country.

The party boldly laid bare shortcomings in the various fields of economic, government and party work. At a number of plenary meetings of the central committee it worked out a comprehensive programme for the rapid promotion of agriculture and improvement in the operation of industry. It called on the working people to make new efforts to reorganise the work of the collective farms, machine and tractor stations, state farms and industrial enterprises, and carried out a tremendous amount of organisational activity. One can safely say that the great economic undertakings now under way in our country are the biggest the party has embarked on since the period of industrialisation and collectivisation. The fact that in two years we were able to increase the crop area in our country by more than 30 million hectares¹—the equivalent of the crop area of a number of European countries taken together—shows that our party is today equal to tasks of the greatest magnitude.

¹ Nearly 75 million acres. 1 hectare = 2.47 acres.

The tremendous work done by the party is bearing fruit. In the field of agriculture the first big step has been taken in the matter of increasing the production of grain and industrial crops and in developing livestock breeding, and the conditions have been created for rapidly increasing, within the next few years, the output of agricultural produce on a scale commensurate with the country's growing requirements. The fulfilment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan in four years and four months in industry shows what tremendous potentialities are being revealed in this sphere of our national economy as well.

Basing ourselves on our accomplishments, we can now put forward new and gigantic tasks. We are in a position to develop at a rapid pace not only heavy industry, as the foundation of the entire national economy, but also the production of consumer goods, to increase public wealth considerably and on this basis substantially to improve the wellbeing of the people. These are the tasks set forth in the draft directives of the congress on the Sixth Five-Year Plan. The fulfilment of this plan will mean new and major successes in the socialist economy, a new and big step forward in creating an abundance of consumer goods, in building communism in our country.

Comrades, the Soviet people will welcome with great enthusiasm and redoubled efforts in production the measures outlined by the central committee of the party for a further improvement under the Sixth Five-Year Plan of working and living conditions of which Comrade Khrushchov spoke here: the introduction in the course of the Sixth Five-Year Plan of a seven-hour day for all factory, office and other workers, and a six-hour day for the basic underground trades in the coal and ore-mining industries, and for young people, without any reduction of wages; the reduction of the working day on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays by two hours in the near future; wage increases for lower-paid categories of workers and other employees; readjustment of pensions; a rapid expansion of housing construction (doubling the figure under the Fifth Five-Year Plan), and improvement of canteens and other establishments serving the public. All these measures will raise the wellbeing of Soviet people to a higher level. The party has thought of everyone: working people, the youth, who are our hope for the future, veteran workers, women, children, of each individual, and this is as it should be in a socialist society.

The measures projected are arousing widespread comment abroad. All right-minded people are as pleased about them as we are. But there are also those who do not like them. The publication of the new Soviet Five-Year Plan has gone against the grain with certain elements. These elements no longer doubt that this Soviet Five-Year Plan, too, will be carried out. Everyone now admits that. They are afraid of something else. This was frankly put recently by Judge W. Douglas, of the United States Supreme Court. "If Russia", he wrote, "can get peace even for a decade, she can bring about a great increase in her standard of living. By that very act, she can create tremendous pressure on Asia and on Europe too. . . . A smiling, peaceful, prosperous Russia presents a most difficult international problem. . . ."

Mr. Douglas is obviously made uneasy by the prospect of peaceful economic competition between the two social systems, and we have no

¹ Retranslated from the Russian.

intention of reassuring him. It is enough only to point out that a peaceful, prosperous Russia by no means presents a "most difficult international problem" for ordinary working people throughout the world, for they rightly regard the successes of the working people of the Soviet Union as victories of the great cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

The Sixth Five-Year Plan marks an important stage in the peaceful economic competition between the two systems. A specific feature of this stage is the fact that the Soviet Union now enjoys all the necessary prerequisites for accomplishing, within a historically brief space of time, the basic economic task of the U.S.S.R.—to catch up with and surpass the most highly developed capitalist countries in production per head of the population.

In order to carry out this task we must see to it that the entire national economy is raised to a new and higher technical level, and substantially increase the productivity of labour. This is now the main requirement in order to ensure for socialism the first place in the competition with capitalism. Hence the economic aspects of production assume greater importance than ever.

Economic management, the work of the Ministries and heads of enterprises, collective farms, machine and tractor stations, and state farms must be raised to a higher level.

In these conditions specific demands are presented also to the party organisations.

Our party came to its 20th Congress united and monolithic as never before. The party's correct political line and the inexhaustible energy it puts into its work for the good of the working people have rallied the entire Soviet people around it as never before, and strengthened still further the alliance between the working class and the peasantry and the great, indestructible friendship of the peoples of our country.

Ideological and organisational unity of the party is the basic guarantee of its strength and the source of all its successes. Only because of the unity of its ranks has the Communist Party been able to deal successfully with the problems of both foreign and home policy, and to direct economic and cultural development.

The restoration of the standards of party life and principles of party leadership worked out by Lenin, which were often violated before the 19th Party Congress, has done much to strengthen the unity of the party and enhance its activity, initiative and militancy.

The theory and practice of the cult of the individual which, though alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, was current before the 19th Congress did considerable harm in the fields of both organisational and ideological party work. They tended to minimise the role of the masses and the party, to belittle collective leadership, to undermine inner-party democracy, to suppress the activity of party members and their initiative and incentive, to lead to lack of control, irresponsibility and even arbitrariness in the work of individuals, to prevent the development of criticism and self-criticism, and to give rise to one-sided and sometimes even erroneous solutions of problems.

Re-establishment of the Leninist principle of collective leadership means re-establishment of the very foundations on which the party edifice rests, for our party is a living and self-acting organisation. Collective leadership,

the principle that all party bodies are elected and accountable, criticism and self-criticism—these are all key conditions for stimulating initiative and the activity of party members, disclosing mistakes and shortcomings and devising ways and means of rectifying them.

That the principle of collective leadership at all levels, from the central committee to basic party units, is now being effectively re-established, is borne out by the increased volume of criticism and self-criticism, by really collective discussion and decisions on all major problems in party bodies. It can be said without the slightest doubt that the principle of collective leadership has been fully re-established in the central committee. The decision on all major questions rests with the plenum of the central committee, which meets regularly and which represents a broad, collectively functioning party centre that maintains the closest contact with the vital sectors of communist construction. The collective experience of the central committee, based as it is on Marxism-Leninism, guarantees correct leadership of the party and the country and the indestructible unity of the party ranks.

The cult of the individual, both in theory and practice, must be completely overcome, and party committees must in all their work be guided unswervingly by the principle of collective leadership. Its significance must be fully understood and appreciated by every party functionary for it is a most important condition for party unity, for working out correct policies and successfully implementing them. It is a condition, also, for the proper training of cadres, and for improvement in every aspect of party work.

The unity, solidity and effectiveness of the party depend largely on the composition of its membership.

The party does not accept everyone who wishes to join its ranks. It takes into its midst the most forward-looking and active men and women and regulates the admittance of new members in accordance with the tasks it has to solve at any given stage. In the years of industrialisation and collectivisation of agriculture, the party admitted mainly workers and peasants to membership. During the war preference was given to the men at the battle-fronts. I need hardly prove that today, when our goal is a steep rise in the output of material values, it is only reasonable to lay emphasis on priority acceptance of the men and women who produce these material values—the workers and collective farmers.

What is the position with regard to recruitment? It should be observed that in the past two years the proportion of workers and collective farmers among new members has increased, as compared with earlier years.

Yet in many party organisations the proportion of workers and collective farmers among newly admitted members is very small. And what is more, we often find that the proportion varies considerably in party organisations working under nearly the same conditions. The amount of industry in the Sverdlovsk and Novosibirsk regions is practically the same. However, in the Sverdlovsk organisation, the proportion of workers among new recruits last year was 47.2 per cent, and in Novosibirsk 32.2 per cent. In the Omsk region, collective farmers made up 31.7 per cent of the new members, whereas in Stalingrad region the figure was only 11.4 per cent. What is the explanation for the proportion of workers in Novosibirsk being lower than in Sverdlovsk, and for the lower proportion of collective farmers in Stalingrad as compared with Omsk? The only explanation is that the Novosibirsk and Stalin-

grad regional party organisations have not paid sufficient attention to this matter. Unfortunately, this also applies to a number of other party organisations.

It should be borne in mind that the success of any undertaking depends to a large extent on the composition of the party organisation. And party organisations must be more exacting in regulating the admission of new members and must radically increase the proportion of workers and collective farmers among new recruits.

There is no need, of course, to emphasise the importance of our organisational work, or to stress that it is a prime factor in all our activities and in the accomplishment of the impressive economic tasks outlined in the Sixth Five-Year Plan. That is why the need to improve the quality of leadership, notably at district level, is now so imperative.

In his report, Comrade Khrushchov revealed the serious shortcomings in the functioning of local party committees: an inclination towards grandiloquent declarations, armchair leadership, management without a proper study of economic problems, inability to organise the masses to eliminate shortcomings, overcome difficulties and apply the experience of front-rank workers and the achievements of science in industry and agriculture.

Regional, territorial, town and district committees have somewhat improved their work following the central committee's demand that an end be put to bureaucratic methods of leadership. There are fewer meetings and conferences. Party officials pay more frequent visits to factories, collective and state farms, and machine and tractor stations, and are doing more to help them to organise their work properly. But all too little has been accomplished in this respect. Unfortunately, there are still not a few party organisations whose officials devote most of their time and energies not to the living work of organisation but to endless conferences and to the composition of reams of records, circulars etc. There is no need to say what such work is worth. For all these endless meetings and these voluminous records bring no practical results. The secretary of the Makhovsk District Party Committee (Vitebsk region, Byelorussia), Comrade Ignatenko, declared at the regional party conference: "For ten years now our district and a number of others have been criticised at every meeting and conference for lagging behind. In these ten years there have been nineteen district committee secretaries and six chairmen of the district Soviet's executive committee. Nine commissions came to investigate and study the situation on the spot, but for all that the district continues to lag behind. To all practical purposes, neither the regional party committee nor the regional Soviet have done anything concrete to help the district."

This penchant for record-writing is spreading to basic party units as well. And often enough with the encouragement of district party committees, which demand "full-length" minutes of meetings and conferences, all manner of data, statistics and so on. The result is that some unit secretaries devote all their time not to the work of organisation but to the penning of all these records and minutes.

Here is a case in point—Comrade Rustamov, secretary of the party organisation at the Kirov Collective Farm, Shamkhor district, Azerbaijan. His desk and bookcase are piled high with folders and ledgers. He keeps a record of party work among women, of work among new party members, of

how the party helps the Young Communist League organisation, lists of complaints submitted by collective farmers, of assignments to party members, a record of the progress of party education, attendance at political classes and amateur art circles. He has dossiers labelled: "Wall Newspapers", "Flash Bulletins", "Emulation Drive in Cattle Breeding", "Emulation Drive in Field Work", "Forest Friends Society". The work of party lecturers is recorded in three separate ledgers: "Tabulation of Work Done by Lecturers", "Mass Political Work", "Daily Assignments for Lecturers". You can just imagine how much time is spent on this pen-pushing which, of course, keeps the secretary away from the living work of organisation. And yet, in the collective farms, no educational work is conducted with milkmaids and cowmen. There is no mechanisation, no daily work schedule, or feed ration for the animals. Productivity is extremely low: the milk yield per cow for the year was only 484 litres.¹ And, of course, the secretary's dossiers yield no milk at all—in this respect they have proved hopelessly sterile.

The work of the party apparatus must be improved, and every vestige of bureaucracy must be rooted out. Party organisations must concentrate on work among the masses. They must turn their attention—and very resolutely—to giving competent, concrete leadership, to effectively organising the propaganda and application of front-rank experience and the achievements of science in the work of every factory, collective and state farm and machine and tractor station.

The party apparatus must be reduced: it should consist of a small number of efficient and knowledgeable workers. The central committee has reduced its apparatus by 25 per cent. We have, I think, thereby made a beginning for further reductions. There should be a reduction in the apparatus of the central party committees in the Union Republics, and of regional, territorial, town and district party committees. Their work will only benefit from this.

In this connection, I would like to say a few words about political departments in civilian organisations. In their day, when they were first instituted, they played a certain positive part, but at the present time they have proved of little value and tend to duplicate the work of territorial party bodies. Comrade Khrushchov rightly drew attention to the technical backwardness on the railways. It stands to reason that the officials of the railway political departments must share responsibility for this state of affairs. For certainly it was their duty to raise the question of technical backwardness in the railway system. But have they raised their voices, have they so much as whispered about the need for technical progress on the railways? No. Evidently the time is ripe for liquidating these political departments.

End the Harmful Divorce of Ideological Work From Life

COMRADES, in the report of the central committee Comrade Khrushchov gave a comprehensive analysis of the ideological work of party organisations. He showed that the main failing now is that this work is to a great extent divorced from life, that the people who carry it on are unable to draw general conclusions from advanced methods of communist

¹ About 106 gallons.

construction which have stood the test of life and popularise those methods among the masses, and also that they do not combat to a sufficient degree negative phenomena that hinder our progress. That was correct and just criticism.

The party regards ideological work as an integral part of all its activities in building communism. Its main purpose is to give practical help in the building of communism, raising labour productivity, enhancing the socialist consciousness of the masses in every way, in relentlessly fighting against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people, against bourgeois ideology and morals, arming the working people, and first and foremost the leading cadres, with Marxist-Leninist theory, and creatively developing this theory.

Yet our ideological work is insufficiently concentrated on accomplishing all these big tasks and to a large extent it is being conducted to no purpose; it is reduced to learning by rote the same well-known formulas and propositions, and not infrequently it brings up doctrinaires and dogmatists who are divorced from life.

Our propaganda has been in a large measure directed into the past, into history, to the detriment of present-day problems. Moreover, the history of our party has been taught so that the experience of history has not helped in understanding current problems properly. The situation is bad as regards the propaganda of economic knowledge and the experience of front-rank workers, engineers, collective farmers, the best industrial establishments, collective farms, state farms and teams.

And so in the party educational system millions of Communists have studied for many years on end the erroneous views of the Narodniks, Economists and Bundists, but have not learned how to combat the survivals of capitalism in the minds of the people in our country and how to expose our present-day ideological enemies in the international arena; they have not studied the economic processes in the country, the experience of innovators, of the best industrial establishments and collective farms, and the achievements of science so as to manage economic affairs with greater efficiency, raise labour productivity, increase the production of material values and cope more successfully with other tasks of communist construction.

Many rank-and-file Communists, too, realise the abnormal nature of this situation. Comrade Ignatov, a combine operator of the Mikhailovskaya Machine and Tractor Station, Stalingrad region, put it very well: "For the thirteenth year now I have been attending a party history circle. For the thirteenth time the propagandists are telling us all about the Bund. But have we no affairs that are more important than criticising the Bund? We are interested in the affairs of our machine and tractor station, district and region. We want to know about the present and the future, but our propagandists are so bogged down in the Narodnik and Bund business that they simply cannot get out of it."

Party propaganda has, in this way, thus begun to lose its militant Bolshevik spirit.

Most of our propagandists are poorly versed in the economics of socialist production. Very often they are guided and trained by people who likewise do not know production or have a very general idea about it. What is the way out? The way out is resolutely to draw our leading economic, party

and government workers into the propaganda work, especially propaganda concerned with economic knowledge.

Greater demands must be made of propagandists. We should not go after numbers but select people who are really able to dovetail our propaganda with the practical tasks of economic and cultural development.

At the same time it is necessary to work constantly with the propagandists as well, bearing in mind that the best of them can "run dry", if party bodies do not give them guidance, do not direct their attention to urgent tasks and do not help them with advice and provide them with concrete data and facts. The system of training and advanced training for propagandists has to be reorganised so that it should be possible to equip them with the necessary knowledge in the spheres of industry and agriculture.

It is not only our propaganda, unfortunately, that is divorced from life and lags behind it; this is largely the case on the theoretical front as well.

Let us take, for instance, the economic sciences. At the present stage the study of the deep-going processes of our society's economic development should be the chief, decisive trend in the study and development of Marxist thought. This does not imply that less attention should be given to the study of the past revolutionary experience of the party or to Marxist-Leninist philosophy. But Soviet society has entered a stage in its development where the main attention should be concentrated on the study and elaboration of economic science, since it is the knowledge of the objective laws of development of socialist economy that enables us, first and foremost, to make use of these laws to accelerate the building of communism.

The publication of the textbook of political economy is a favourable development in this sphere. But a textbook alone is not enough, and as regards serious scientific works containing a creative study of economic processes, there are, unfortunately, very few of them as yet.

Some economists have made serious mistakes in their works. The party had to correct a number of ill-starred economists who were spreading anti-Marxist views on the need to slow down the pace of development of heavy industry. The denial by economists of the category of moral depreciation of machinery under socialism did serious harm, for it provided theoretical justification for stagnation and conservatism in technology.

Economists do not make an adequate study of the operation of the law of value in socialist production. That our architects, carried away by extravagances, have not worked out what this will cost the people and that personnel of machine and tractor stations and collective farms still very often do not work out the cost of a ton of grain or meat is undoubtedly due in some measure to the fact that our economists have not elaborated the problem of how the law of value operates concretely in our economy.

The scientific study and elaboration of problems of economics in particular branches of the national economy is in a neglected state. The U.S.S.R. has more than forty research institutions whose task it is to study the economics of agricultural production. They have done very little, however, to summarise the wealth of experience accumulated by the collective and state farms. Publication of a textbook on agricultural economics and also of a textbook on industrial economics has dragged out much too long.

In the sphere of philosophy, too, theoretical thought is divorced from the

urgent tasks of our life, of communist construction.

Dogmatism and doctrinairism have become widespread, because a section of the economists and philosophers have held aloof from practical life. The essence of the evil disease of doctrinairism is not simply that those infected with it cite quotations all the time, whether they fit in or not; they regard as the supreme criterion of their correctness not practical experience but the pronouncements of authorities on this or that question. They lose the taste for studying real life. Everything is replaced by the culling of quotations and artful manipulation of those quotations. The slightest deviation from a quotation is regarded as a revision of fundamental principles. This activity of the doctrinaires is not merely futile, it is harmful.

There is no doubt that the cult of the individual has greatly promoted the spread of dogmatism and doctrinairism. Worshipers of the cult of the individual ascribed the development of Marxist theory only to certain personalities and relied entirely on them. As for all the other mortals, allegedly they had to assimilate and popularise what was created by those personalities. The role of the collective thinking of our party and that of fraternal parties in developing revolutionary theory, the role of the collective experience of the masses of the people was thus ignored.

The party has never tolerated dogmatism, but the struggle against it has become especially acute at the present time. Present-day developments make the task of creatively developing Marxism more pressing than ever. Each day of building communism in our country and building socialism in the people's democracies brings to the fore ever new problems, which should be illuminated by theory. Gigantic changes are taking place all over the world and many problems now appear in a new light. In order to keep in step with life it is imperative to elaborate new problems in a scientific way, further to enrich and develop Marxism. Lenin, in drawing attention to the creative nature of Marxism, stressed that "we do not regard Marx's theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary we are convinced that it has only laid the cornerstone of the science which socialists *must* further advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life" (*Works* (Russian edition), Vol. 4, p. 191).

It is this task that now confronts us, and, in particular, our economists and philosophers. The party expects them to create fundamental scientific works based on a summary of the vast experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the people's democracies and a deep-going analysis of the processes taking place in present-day capitalism—works which could be of theoretical help to government, economic and party cadres. Of course, when Marxists speak of advancing revolutionary theory by summarising the new practical experience and the achievements of the whole of science, they always mean the further development and enrichment of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of its bedrock principles, in uncompromising struggle against all attempts to revise these principles.

The shortcomings in our ideological work are very serious and the party cannot tolerate them.

It is the duty of all party organisations, from top to bottom, to eliminate these shortcomings, to secure a sharp turn in our ideological work towards life, practical activities, concrete questions of communist construction; propaganda and agitation should be closely linked, in the first place, with the tasks

confronting each industrial establishment or collective farm in increasing the production of material values.

We must constantly work to enhance the socialist consciousness of the working people, to answer the urgent and pressing questions they raise; we must not relax the struggle against the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people, and we must resolutely expose the reactionary ideology of the imperialist bourgeoisie. Aiming at the further easing of international tension and strengthening of peace, we must not curtail our criticism of bourgeois ideology, imperialism and colonialism; on the contrary, in order to achieve these aims we must intensify our criticism, expose the aggressive ideology and policy of imperialism with convincing examples and facts, lay bare the exploiting essence of the capitalist system, contrasting this doomed system with the socialist system, revealing the latter's immense advantages and lofty and exalted principles and aims.

We must once again invest our ideological work with the Bolshevik militancy and purposefulness developed by the party throughout decades, and this work should be subordinated to the struggle for the triumph of communism.

The party will continue to display tireless concern for propaganda and the creative development, on the basis of new experience, of Marxist-Leninist theory, which is the scientific foundation of all our policies and all our activities, the indispensable guide for the building of communism.

* * *

Comrades, it is difficult to overestimate the historic significance of the present congress. The congress is opening up before our party, country and the Soviet people sweeping, breath-taking prospects in building communism which arouse feelings of joy and pride. The tasks we face are magnificent and we have inexhaustible potentialities for their successful accomplishment. A wonderful life is unfolding before the Soviet people. In the near future our socialist motherland will become still greater and mightier politically, economically and culturally. And by its side other fraternal socialist countries, the entire great socialist commonwealth will grow, become stronger and prosper.

Our party faces these splendid prospects monolithically united, militant and filled with great creative energies. It enjoys the undivided love and support of the whole Soviet people and is armed with the wise and invincible teaching of Marxism-Leninism.

There can be no doubt that after its 20th Congress the party will achieve still greater victories in its work for the further progress of our motherland, or peace among the nations, for the triumph of communism in our country.

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How to deal with Unemployment

By
I. BARBADORO

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FOREWORD

THE problem of unemployment examined in this pamphlet is one of vital interest at the present day.

The number of unemployed in the capitalist countries is not only very high, but is tending to increase. The table below, compiled from government statistics eloquently demonstrates this:—

Development of unemployment, as shown by official statistics
In thousands

	1951	1952
Australia	0.67 (May)	5.24 (May)
Austria	96.8 (May)	124 (May)
Belgium	182.4 (May)	231.7 (May)
Canada	172 (March)	212 (March)
Denmark	30 (May)	58.8 (May)
Western Germany	1,387 (May)	1,312 (May)
France*		
Ireland	29.3 (May)	39.4 (May)
Italy	1,676 (April)	1,870 (April)
Japan	370 (January)	490 (January)
Holland	61 (June)	106 (June)
Norway	6.4 (May)	7.5 (May)
Great Britain	214.5 (June)	489.6 (June)
U.S.A.	1,856 (July)	1,942 (July)

There are, however, countries where there is no longer any question of unemployment, since this has been abolished by virtue of the fact that the causes of unemployment have themselves been abolished.

In these countries, the right to work is assured, not merely in the text of the Constitution, but in actuality, in real life.

Unemployment, which is a consequence of the economic organisation of the countries in which it is rife, develops through the impoverishment of the working masses, the inadequacy of their

* France. There are no official statistics in France relating to unemployment as a whole; certain categories of unemployed being considered merely "assisted persons." Inquiries made by "poll" methods have, however, established that the number of totally unemployed has risen by at least 200,000, and that of partially unemployed by more than 500,000. 50X1-HUM

purchasing power, the too high prices of products and articles of common consumption, and the obstacles impeding normal commercial trading with all countries. It is at present becoming further increased and heightened in these countries under the weight of the armaments burden.

A considerable portion of the national income is absorbed by increased armament expenditure, and this also acts to the detriment of production for the civilian sector of the economy.

The grievous consequences of unemployment are felt in the first place by those out of work, but they do not spare certain other social strata, in particular small trades-people, peasants and even the owners of numerous small and medium undertakings.

The big industrialists and trusts strive to profit from unemployment crises by suppressing numbers of small and medium undertakings in order to remain in control of the market and in this way to augment still further their excessive profits.

The trade union organisations can certainly not permit themselves to be satisfied with establishing the facts, without at the same time acting with the necessary energy to fight against unemployment and the causes which give rise to it.

They struggle against this social curse of unemployment and against the bankruptcy of capitalist society which has proved itself incapable of ensuring work to millions of able-bodied men and women, who have no other means of existence apart from their wages.

Those trade union organisations catering for workers in industries severely affected by unemployment put the struggle against unemployment in the forefront of their responsibilities.

The interchange of experiences of these struggles, which will take place at the time of the International Conference on Social Security, which will be held in Vienna in early March, 1953, will make it possible to improve the methods of dealing with unemployment.

At the same time as the trade union organisations fight against unemployment, they also undertake the defence of the claims of the totally and partially unemployed.

IN THIS FIELD IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT THE RISK OF UNEMPLOYMENT SHOULD BE COVERED BY SOCIAL SECURITY.

In those countries where the workers are still without the benefit of Social Security, the trade union organisations should not fail to introduce into their programmes the necessary demand that the risk of unemployment be covered by Social Security.

It is necessary to start with the principle that every wage-earner, without consideration of his profession, family status or age, from the moment when he is deprived of his wages through unemployment, must be able to draw benefits, without any restric-

tion, in the form of unemployment pay—commencing with the day when he loses his employment, and without any time limit.

Agricultural workers, who very often suffer unemployment, must have the same right as industrial workers to receive unemployment benefit without any restrictions.

In matters regarding the scale of unemployment benefit, it is necessary, in our opinion, to make this the concern of the trade union organisations in each country. By taking into account the actual detailed situation in their own countries, they will be in a better position to determine the scale.

The condition of the partially unemployed should also be kept in sight by the trade unions. We are at present witnessing the development of partial unemployment in the capitalist countries.

There is no need to stress that workers receiving a reduced salary are exposed to want and privations, since even those who work a full week experience difficulties in satisfying their own needs and those of their families, in view of the gap which exists between wages and the cost of living.

All these questions, bound up with the grave problem of unemployment, will be examined, discussed and clarified in the course of the work of the International Conference on Social Security.

This pamphlet has for its aim simply to make a contribution to the discussion of these problems and to assist the trade unions in finding solutions which will enable millions of partially and totally unemployed to receive full employment, and provide a decent unemployment benefit to those who remain "unemployed in spite of themselves."

These discussions, like the campaign itself, will be carried out in the spirit of the broadest possible working class unity, which we must constantly promote in the interests of all workers.

F. MAURICE,

President of the International
Union of Fur and Leather Workers.

HOW TO DEAL WITH UNEMPLOYMENT

IN the capitalist countries, the forms in which insurance against unemployment exists and their range are extremely varied, extending from the complete absence of any system, or of systems extremely restricted in respect of the numbers of people affected and of the value of the benefits allowed. This makes it particularly difficult to formulate the basic characteristics of unemployment insurance.

The fundamental reasons for these profound differences are of course to be found in the variety of the concrete economic conditions, the way these have developed and the resultant relation of class forces. There is thus a direct relation between, on the one hand, the various situations of the market and the struggle waged by the working class in order to protect itself against unemployment, and on the other hand, the concrete system brought into being. In general, there exists more extensive insurance in countries with an advanced economic development and where the working class has emphasised the problem in the course of its struggles. In countries where, by reason of a retarded economic development, unemployment has become inherent in the system, and is growing, the systems in existence are generally restricted. In these cases their extension presents basic problems, whose solution in terms of precautionary measures is possible on condition that this is organised on a much broader basis.

Before entering on an analysis of the characteristics assumed by social precautions against unemployment in the various countries, it would be well to examine briefly the effects of insurance of this kind.

The Effects of Unemployment Benefit

WHATEVER may be its forms and financial requirements, unemployment benefit entails a certain amount of expenditure. It is essential that a part of the national income, without consideration of the means by which it is to be set aside, should be devoted to allowances for the unemployed. As long as this levy had to be supported exclusively by the persons concerned, as was the case in the former Workers' Mutual Aid Societies, and as



Western Germany. The despair of the unemployed—who will give my father work?

was the general rule in all the voluntary mutual aid funds, this protection expressed itself in the redistribution of a portion of the income of the working class within the limits of the working class itself, without profits or interest being at all affected. But in proportion as the struggle of the workers developed, the employers were compelled to assume, in whole or in part, whether directly by contributions or indirectly by taxation, the financial burden of unemployment insurance. (In the capitalist countries the costs at the moment are generally speaking shared between the workers and the employers, with or without state participation. In some countries, however, e.g., Italy, the workers have succeeded in making the employers bear the entire burden of insurance.)

Insurance of this kind deals a blow at profits by bringing about an increase in the price of labour without a proportionate increase in the output or price of the goods produced.

It is thus entirely understandable that the employers have attempted and are still attempting by every means to avoid the application of this sort of insurance, or to apply it only in so far as they are compelled to do so.

On the other hand, the fact must be taken into consideration that in numerous markets controlled by monopolies, the most powerful groups of employers, that is those who dominate the big factories, have succeeded in transferring to prices, and in consequence to the consumers, at least a part of the increase in the costs of production resulting from the system of unemployment insurance, and in this way diminishing the effect of the latter on their profits.

Another consequence of unemployment insurance makes itself felt in the development of capitalist production. We well understand the reasons why this cannot function without a certain mass of unemployed workers, who in offering their labour power, cause its price to be lowered and thus keep down the wages of the employed personnel to a level consistent with high profits. In fact, capitalism keeps down the wages by playing off the unemployed against those in employment. But in order that this stabilisation and even reduction of wages can be put into practice, it is necessary that the unemployed person should have no other sources of income than his labour power, which he is not in a position to utilise. That is to say, he is held in a vice by his own needs and those of his family.

Now the application of social insurance schemes includes economic benefits which allow the unemployed person a certain purchasing power and have the effect of strengthening his resistance and making it possible for him to refuse to sell his labour power below its value. If, for example, the benefits represent 60% of the average wage and allow the unemployed person to obtain for himself at least a minimum subsistence, then he will not only not accept a wage inferior to the benefits he is receiving already, but since his livelihood is ensured, he will be able to offer resistance and to fight to obtain the same treatment as the employed workers. The

effect on the level of wages of the existence of a mass of unemployed is reduced in proportion as social insurance is more effective. Thus, the latter does not merely attack the profits of the employers, like the other forms of social insurance, but at the same time represents a significant check to the continuance of a low level of wages, and so is a favourable condition for the raising of this level. It is only when one considers this double effect—on profits and on the level of wages (these last constituting in effect an indirect attack on profits)—that the strength of the employers' resistance is explained, resistance of such a kind that this form of social insurance is non-existent in many countries, or else is restricted to those categories of workers who have succeeded in obtaining it in the course of their struggles.

In certain states social legislation does not in any way provide for unemployment insurance. This is the case in a large number of semi-colonial countries—Egypt, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, etc.—where production relations are still semi-feudal. These countries are, for the most part, openly exploited by foreign imperialism, and have an excessive labour force with a very low standard of living. The same conditions prevail in the majority of technically backward countries which have reached a certain level of industrial development, usually financed by foreign capital, but where the local labour force is relatively poor. In these countries the employers do their best to keep wages down in order to guarantee high profits. Such conditions exist in the majority of Latin-American countries.

In Portugal, social unemployment protection still assumes the form of charitable aid, reminiscent of the "Poor Law" of Queen Elizabeth, or the "Institution" of the Papal States in force up to 1860-70. Even in those developed capitalist countries where unemployment is not a permanent feature and is only very limited—during periods of less prosperity—and where the wage level is fairly high, there are no compulsory forms of insurance against unemployment. This is left to voluntary mutual organisations, which are administered for the most part by the trade unions, with some financial assistance on the part of the State. Sweden and Finland are typical examples of this position.

As to the countries where compulsory unemployment insurance systems are in force, a comparison of the numbers of people covered with those of the health insurance systems shows that the first usually embraces a very much smaller number of workers than the second. This demonstrates that social insurance against unemployment in the capitalist countries assumes a more restricted form than health insurance.

The Extension of Unemployment Protection

IN examining the achievements in the capitalist countries, we can establish at once that the almost universal application of rigid qualifications in the regulation of social insurance against unem-

ployment is a common characteristic of these countries, despite the different economic conditions.

We must first of all explain what we understand by a system "governed by insurance qualifications." Such a system of social insurance exists when the right to receive appropriate benefits is not granted to an individual in his capacity as a member of the community or as possessing some particular quality, for example, in being a worker but when this right proceeds from the fact of his having made the appropriate contribution to the insurance funds, or else of his having been employed in an approved field of activity. An insurance system of this kind, even though compulsory, retains all the characteristics of private insurance, since the right to benefit is not an automatic right, but proceeds merely from the fact of having contributed to the finances of the social insurance system itself.

It is necessary to stress that the application of such criteria is not made only in countries where there is large-scale, permanent unemployment, but also in countries of less unemployment. Now if in the cases where there is large-scale, permanent unemployment, complete social protection for the whole working class presents financial problems, such difficulties can certainly not be used to justify the existence of protection based on an insurance system (sometimes extremely restricted), where unemployment is not permanent and where its extent is comparatively limited.

Of all the capitalist countries, only Australia and New Zealand have instituted social security systems protecting the entire working population, without exception, against the risk of unemployment, and guaranteeing benefits regulated by the sole condition that the applicant should have reached working age and should be in need of support.

It is nevertheless clear that a system based on insurance, however broad this may be, not only fails for technical reasons to correspond to the requirements arising from permanent unemployment, but is further only able to ensure incomplete and imperfect protection in situations of temporary unemployment.

The existence of a system based on the insurance principle arises from a denial of the right of the entire working class to social protection against unemployment. In other words, in maintaining these qualifications it is possible to limit the right to draw benefits, by excluding this or that category of workers, or this or that sector of the economy. Thus, what should be the right of the entire working class is allowed only to certain categories of workers—those to whom it is impossible to refuse benefit.

The extent of the existing systems with regard to the number of people covered varies very much from one country to the other (with the exception of those countries operating a general system of Social Security). In order to give a brief survey, the various systems may be summed up as follows:

(a) Systems protecting all employed workers without consideration of the economic sector in which they work, or of the

professional category to which they belong. Such systems are extremely few in number, and exist only in Great Britain and in 16 Swiss cantons.

(b) Systems protecting the majority of employed workers, but excluding certain categories in receipt of an income above or below an established level; or else workers who are able to rely on relatively stable employment; or again workers occupied in certain fields of the economy, domestic workers, or seasonal workers, or those engaged for short periods, or finally workers employed in small undertakings. The most frequent exceptions relate to one or other of the following categories: employees of public services, agricultural, domestic and seasonal workers and craftsmen.

(c) Systems protecting only certain trades, generally covering workers in large-scale industry. The difference between these systems and those of group (b) is an essentially quantitative one, and consists in the number of workers excluded from participation.

The most common systems are those of the two last categories. Such a classification is, however, hardly a complete one. For example, in the United States, side by side with the federal laws (in force for the whole country), providing for compulsory insurance of workers in certain sectors of the economy, there are local laws as well covering categories which vary from one State to another. In Switzerland, a system insuring all employed workers is in force in 16 cantons, whereas in the other 6, such provision either does not exist, or functions only on a voluntary basis. In countries having entirely voluntary schemes, it is evident that these are limited to the most easily organisable sectors of industry, and thus exclude not only workers in various branches of the economy, but also all workers in small-scale industry and in more scattered sectors of production.

The systems in force vary considerably from one country to another and range from the absence of any sort of protection right up to, in some rare cases, the protection of the entire working population—with the most diverse intermediate stages. The extent of the system naturally depends on economic conditions and on the struggles of the workers. Thus, for example, in certain countries where there is only a certain amount of scattered unemployment, the lack of protection may be explained by the fact that unemployment has only a minor and local significance. In case of a temporary worsening provisional help is provided which eases the pressure thus enabling the problem to be dealt with as soon as the crisis stage is past.

We can find indirect confirmation of this analysis in studying which categories of workers are most frequently excluded from the right to unemployment protection in the capitalist countries. These are, in effect, the weakest and poorest groups, who find it particularly difficult to organise any fight by reason of the nature of their

work, in which there is no concentration of workers. Such are agricultural workers, seasonal and domestic workers, and in certain cases workers engaged in small undertakings or handicrafts, or workers receiving wages below a certain minimum level. It is evident that exclusions of this kind are not made by reason of the absence of unemployment risk, or the absence of economic need—which is the fundamental reason for bringing about the adoption of some form of social protection against unemployment. In fact it is probable that these categories of workers suffer on the average more frequently from unemployment and that their economic situation is in general worse. These exclusions are actually due to the fact that, arising from the low degree of organisation of these workers, the employers, by not including them in the system, are able to secure considerable economies. Thus they have also at their disposal a body of unemployed not receiving any compensation, and tending by their unlimited competition on the labour market to exercise a downward pressure on wages.

A rapid examination of the laws in force in countries possessing some kind of protection allows us to form a sufficiently clear idea of the kind of exclusion carried out in respect to employed workers.

There is no exclusion in Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain and the 16 Swiss cantons, which have introduced a system embracing all employed workers. In the countries where there is only inconsiderable and temporary unemployment, as for example Austria, Norway and Holland, there are fairly considerable exceptions. In Norway, for example, not only employees in public services, but also fishermen, domestic workers and all those earning less than 600 crowns a year are, in practice, excluded from insurance. This, moreover, holds good for all workers without permanent occupation, that is to say precisely those who have the greatest need of benefits in order to make up their insufficient income. In Austria, public officials and employees, agricultural workers, foresters and domestic staffs are not included in the insurance. In the Netherlands, insurance covers all employed workers, with the exception of domestic workers with an income lower than 6,000 florins a year. In France, a country possessing one of the most inclusive systems, since it embraces not only employed workers, but also—which exists in no other country not possessing a social security system for all workers—writers, artists and young people in search of their first employment, seasonal workers are nevertheless left without protection.

Countries with more unemployment, like Belgium and the United States, have unemployment insurance systems with very serious exclusions. In Belgium, apprentices, domestic workers and workers in public services are not included in the system. In addition there are certain restrictions for agricultural workers. In the United States, a highly developed country where unemployment, already high enough in normal times, reaches terrifying

proportions in periods of crisis, the following categories are in practice excluded from every kind of protection by either federal or state legislation: all workers in the federal or local public services, agricultural workers, domestic workers, and all those working in concerns which have too few workers to come under the unemployment laws. Thus, in effect, unemployment protection covers only workers in large-scale industry.

In countries where there is considerable inherent unemployment there are also very restrictive systems in being. In Western Germany, although there is no system of protection on a national scale, but only local systems, the exclusion of agricultural workers, of domestic and seasonal workers can be considered an accomplished fact for the whole country. In Italy, agricultural and seasonal workers, workers in public services, and those not having continuous employment are excluded, as well as all part-time workers.

It is appropriate to make some observations on the technical difficulties which it is claimed are involved in establishing protection against unemployment in agriculture and in general in seasonal and non-permanent occupations, and which the ruling class makes use of as a pretext to justify its failure to meet its obligations.

When it is a matter of unemployment or of being temporarily out of employment (as we shall see, these are two quite different problems), the solution is particularly easy to find. It is evident that it is a question rather of insuring the workers against a future, uncertain risk, by guaranteeing a certain income for the period already known in advance, during which these workers, for reasons independent of their will, are unable to work at their usual trade, or in any other job, since there is an absence of demand. It is thus a matter of guaranteeing a yearly reserve of income, whose size should be related to the duration of employment in the given sector, and also to the possibility possessed by the particular economies to utilise the man-power available during the "off-season" in other sectors. The matter is therefore far from being without a solution. In confirmation of this, it is sufficient to cite the fact that this problem has been concretely solved in numerous capitalist countries without the emergence of any of the difficulties warned against.

Necessary Conditions for the Right to Benefits

AS we have already said, an insurance system does not guarantee, even in the best examples, anything but incomplete and defective protection. In reality, the first and principal effect of such systems is to exclude from the right to benefit a fairly considerable section of the workers, even those included in the system, since one must satisfy conditions of contribution or employment qualification before acquiring the right to benefits. The worker must, in order to be able to claim compensation, be in a position to prove



Workers queuing up for work at Labour Exchanges. Although factories engaged on rearmament are employing more workers, war preparations have produced mass dismissals in the consumer goods industries. The United States television industry has dismissed 10,000 workers in recent weeks.

a certain sum of contributions, or a certain period of employment during a prescribed period preceding the unemployment. Since no contributions can be paid if the worker is not occupied in a branch of industry where insurance is obligatory, the right to benefits is made dependent on the work recently performed. There can be no question that within the framework of capitalist economy, the establishment of such qualifications is unjustifiable, since the possibility of obtaining work does not depend only on the will of the worker. Under such conditions, all young people in search of their first jobs are automatically excluded from the right to benefits, even in cases where this is not stipulated by law.

Among the existing systems of unemployment protection—without speaking of Australia and New Zealand, where this protection covers the entire working population without any other consideration than economic need—the French system is the only one to admit young people seeking their first employment to the right to claim compensation, if they are less than 17 years old, providing that there exists an unemployment fund and have completed their studies more than a year before, and are registered with an official employment bureau.

The significance of the exclusion of young people in countries with permanent unemployment, is absolutely clear. An increasing number of workers will be unable to find work, will be left without resources, and will exert pressure on the labour market, thus lowering the standard of living of the mass of the working class. In countries where unemployment is only temporary, absorption into production of new contingents of man-power never follows at once. Moreover, the process of absorption may be considerably slowed down by the effects of a crisis which throws young people out of work. They are not absorbed into production until economic recovery begins to make itself felt. Thus, even in countries which normally make use of their new sources of power, young workers may remain without work for a considerable time—without having the right to claim benefit.

The fact that such conditions as the payment of contributions or a time qualification are exacted, excludes from the right to benefits all those who for one reason or another have not been in a position to fulfil the necessary conditions before becoming unemployed. The extent of these exclusions depends naturally on the conditions exacted and the situation in the labour market of the country concerned.

These conditions, although varying considerably from country to country, all display a tendency to exclude the greatest possible number of the unemployed. In order to have the right to claim benefit, it is necessary in Great Britain to have paid contributions for 26 weeks. In Norway, 45 insurance weeks over the 4 years preceding the unemployment are demanded, and in Austria, 20 insurance weeks during the course of the year preceding the compensation claim. In the Netherlands, 156 working days during the foregoing year are required. In Belgium 6 months of work over the last 10 months preceding the benefit claim are necessary in sectors where insurance is compulsory, while in Italy a worker must have been insured for at least 2 years, of which 1 year at least must have been during the past 2 years.

Duration of Benefits

A system based on the principle of insurance is incapable of guaranteeing benefits for the entire period of unemployment, even in cases of temporary unemployment, and above all when unemployment is increasing as a result of a cyclical crisis. Since this kind of system is the most widespread, it follows that in the capitalist countries social protection is, in the majority of cases, limited in respect of its duration. The only exceptions are Australia and New Zealand, which have instituted a social security organisation, and also France and Belgium, whose legislation takes no account of time limits for the receipt of benefit.

In certain cases, the limitation of the duration is uniformly applied to all insured persons. In others an extension (equally limited) is only granted if the contributions of the person insured

exceed the required minimum by a fixed amount. In others again, the duration of benefit is made dependent on qualifications in time (for example, 1 week of benefit for 2, 3, or 4 weeks of contributions).

In Great Britain, for example, benefits are granted for a period of 180 days, which is extended to one year, if the insured person has paid at least 50 contributions during the year preceding his last benefit claim. After the expiration of the benefit period, the unemployed person must, in order to be able to receive compensation again, be able to show a credit of 13 other weekly contributions. In Austria, benefits are granted for a period of 12 weeks, if contributions have been paid over at least 20 weeks; for 20 weeks, if 30 weekly contributions have been lodged in the course of the 2 years preceding the demand; for 30 weeks, if during the course of the 5 years preceding the demand, contributions have been paid for 30 weeks at the minimum. In Italy, the duration of benefit is for 180 days, without regard to the time over which contributions have been lodged. In the Union of South Africa, one week of benefit is granted for 4 weeks of contributions, in Norway one week of benefits for 3 contribution weeks, with a maximum of 15 weeks of compensation annually. In the Netherlands, unemployed people have the right to 48 days of compensation paid out by the professional insurance organisation and to 78 days of benefit paid out by the ordinary insurance, or, if he does not possess the right to trade insurance, he receives benefits paid out by the ordinary insurance over a period of 126 days.

Without paying attention to the method which determines the duration of benefits, it is apparent that its limitation is characterised by the exclusion from compensation of all unemployed who, after the expiration of the limits laid down, have not been absorbed into production. Wherever unemployment has a permanent character, this is the equivalent of depriving the protection scheme of part of its value. Added to the other disqualifications, there results a profound difference between the number of unemployed who receive assistance and the actual number of unemployed, of which the first represents only a small percentage of the second. (For example, in Italy, the numbers benefiting from unemployment allocations represent only 10-12% of the total numbers of registered unemployed).

Such limitations also involve exclusions from the right to claim compensation in situations of temporary unemployment. In the United States, only 50% of the unemployed receive benefits; in Switzerland, 40%; in Austria about 70%. In normal times the severity of these exclusions is determined by the duration of the period for which compensation is payable and by the mobility of labour, and in the last analysis by the volume and character of unemployment. In times of crisis, the volume of exclusions increases as the crisis itself grows more serious.

In some countries, as for example in Great Britain and

Austria, the unemployed person whose right to obtain allowance has expired before he has found work and who is in a state of need, is able to claim certain other benefits, in most cases without any time limit. However these benefits are not granted in the form of insurance benefits, but as public relief. Parallel with the insurance systems there thus exist assistance schemes financed not by contributions, but by taxation. This double system of protection, when at a given moment relief takes the place of insurance which has run out, exists only in very few countries, where, by reason of the local characteristics of unemployment, relief only entails a very limited expenditure, since not only the number of beneficiaries utilising these systems is small, but, moreover, the benefits available are inferior to those granted by the insurance organisations.

The reason for which such "insurance criteria" are to be found in almost all unemployment protection systems is undoubtedly explained by the two-fold interest of the employers to pay out as little as possible and to keep the unemployed in the worst economic conditions, in order that they should constitute a factor tending to lower the wage of the employed workers. In fact, the short analysis that we have just made clearly demonstrates that the workers excluded from protection—the young people in search of their first job, the unemployed who are unable to satisfy the contribution demands, and those who are left without work after the expiration of the period of compensation—constitute a considerable mass of unemployed, unable to obtain compensation and exercising for these reasons severe competition on the labour market.

Benefit Scales

THE real scale of the benefits allowed in the different countries varies considerably. They can be either fixed for the duration of the benefit or they can vary according to a given index or according to the cost of living or level of wages. The benefits can be set at a uniform amount for all insured people or they can vary according to the amount of contributions made, according to trade qualifications or according to the wages drawn.

It is necessary to make special mention of benefits which are not fixed. By this we mean benefits granted according to systems which do not take into account any changes in the cost of living, except by special decision, as for example by a law establishing a new amount of compensation.

This kind of benefit is characteristic not only of countries with a relatively stable currency, but also of countries with an unstable currency, such as Italy and Austria. Now a system of fixed benefits presents in the present stage of capitalism a serious threat to the real value of the benefits. All recent experience shows us that a stable currency under capitalism cannot be achieved. The sharpening of capitalist contradictions by imperialist wars and

periodic crises have compelled the final abandonment of any stable currency. Currency manipulation has become a characteristic of present-day capitalism. Further, all-out rearmament creates, inflation. This is why a system of fixed benefits under present conditions amounts to permitting the employers to decide the real value of benefits.

Scales of benefit in capitalist countries are fixed according to the balance of class forces. But if we examine the extent to which the level of benefits varies, we find that only in exceptional cases does this exceed two thirds of the average wage. In the Netherlands, benefits vary between 60% and 80% according to the number of dependents (this percentage in fact includes the family allowance supplements, which implies the renunciation of family allowance). In other countries the scale is much lower: in Austria from 38% to 50%, in Great Britain, below 40%. In Belgium it is 50% of the wage for unskilled labour (i.e., the lowest wage). In the Scandinavian countries it stands at about two-thirds of the wage and in Italy at less than 30% (including supplements for dependents).

The compensation scales although generally including supplements for dependents, are nevertheless expressed as a percentage of the net wage, excluding the family allowance. The compensation received therefore represents a considerably lower percentage of the worker's ordinary income.

The low general level of allowances is mainly due to the tendency of the employers to impose the biggest possible economies. In the countries where unemployment is temporary and affects few people, the desire of the employers to use unemployment to force down wages also plays a part. The lower the benefits, the more the unemployed person is driven to exert pressure on the labour market by his search for work. That is why in certain countries where benefits are not limited with respect to time, and are still paid after the expiration of the right to draw benefit, the amount is reduced after a certain period. In this way the unemployed person, his resources further reduced, is even more "inclined" to ask less for his labour power. In France, compensation is in this way reduced by 20% after one year of assistance, and thereafter by 10% for each subsequent year. In Great Britain public assistance benefits are less than three-quarters of the benefits paid out by the insurance.

When benefits are ridiculously low (as in general is the case in countries having high permanent unemployment, and where only a small number of unemployed receive assistance after the expiry of the insurance benefits), not only is the effect which they exert on the consumer goods market a minimum one as a result of the very insignificant sums paid, but further than this, demand tends to fall.

Finance and Organisation

FINANCING differs considerably from country to country, both as regards method and the source. A simple classification of methods may be made as follows.

(a) Financing exclusively by the State, which covers costs by taxation. This method is used not only in countries with a social security system, but equally in other countries.

(b) Financing partially by the State, partially by contributions. State assistance may be expressed by an annual appropriation of a stated sum, as in Great Britain, or by an appropriation when the need arises, as in Belgium and Norway. Contributions may be shared between workers and employers, in equal or unequal parts, as is the case in practically every country, or may be the exclusive responsibility of the workers, as in Sweden and Switzerland.

(c) Financing only by contributions, without any assistance from the State. In this case also, the contributions may be shared between the workers and the employers, or may be the responsibility of a single category, as in Italy, where they are borne exclusively by the employers.

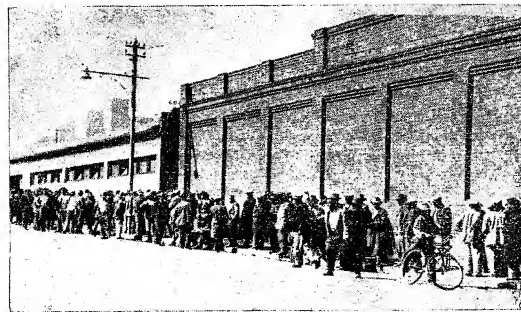
Contributions may be based on a fixed scale, or may be made proportional to wages, with a top limit, or again may be proportional to the real income. In Great Britain, Norway and Austria contributions are fixed. In other countries where financing is carried out by contribution, a top limit exists.

The effects of financing exclusively by contributions totally or partially supported by the industrial enterprises are well-known. A system of this sort determines the amount of contribution levied in relation to the demands of compensation and not to the income of the particular industrial concern. That is to say, that the economic possibility of supporting the expenditure is not taken into account. This has the effect of favouring all activities requiring a small labour force, that is, utilising mechanised processes, which are in short the large monopolist undertakings. The others who are obliged to employ many work people, and who belong to the less monopolised sectors of the economy, are put at a disadvantage. Furthermore, contributions are, like taxation of wages, used as a pretext to reduce employment.

The introduction of a top limit for contributions, or still worse, the establishment of a fixed contribution scale, brings about the suppression of any relationship between income and contribution. In other words, if a wage exceeds the maximum limit, or if the contribution is fixed, any extension of the working day fails to bring with it an increase in contributions, which has the same effect as reducing the cost of overtime work and permitting the substitution of overtime for the taking-on of fresh workers. Furthermore this tendency considerably increases the injustice existing in the distribution of the costs of social protection in

respect of certain branches of production. In fact it increases the possibility of making the branches of industry with a large unskilled labour force (where wages are below average) bear the main burden, whereas those branches of production which employ a small number of specialist workers (whose wages are above the average) are able to profit from the fact that the cost of specialised work does not cost more. In this way the strongest among the employers' groups—those dominating the great monopoly concerns with a high level of mechanisation and employing a certain number of specialist workers—succeed in passing on the greatest burden of insurance costs to small and medium industry. This defective distribution exists in the same country between the more economically developed sectors and the more backward sectors. In the case of the first, a considerable part of the wages are above the average, while in the others, the wages are average. That is to say that the deductions will be greater in relation to income in the second group, i.e., precisely in the poorest sectors.

Contributions imposed on the workers represent an absurdity from any point of view. The insurance benefits form a part of the income of the working class, that is to say of the price of their labour power. It is therefore quite obvious that the price of labour, in other words the wage, plus the parts of the wage which are really a form of delayed investment, i.e., contributions or taxes, which are the equivalent of benefits—must be paid by the employers. From this it follows that not only the contributions, but also taxation destined to finance the benefits (in



Hundreds of unemployed queue every day outside the Bureau of Native Affairs in Johannesburg, South Africa. If they cannot find work within three days, they are liable to be expelled from the city area and sent to work in the countryside.

countries where insurance is financed with assistance from the State), must come out of profits in all its forms—industrial profit, rent, and interest. Where the State participates in financing, this must be utilised to adjust the cost of insurance according to economic capacity (a function which a system based on contributions is unable to accomplish). The collection of the requisite amounts should be carried out by a personal and progressive tax on unearned income, and not by indirect taxation, which has to be supported by the workers in their capacity as consumers, and still less by a percentage tax (as is the case in New Zealand) where the same percentage is subtracted from all incomes.

As to the organisation of insurance schemes, we find here a great diversity of forms.

In certain countries, insurance is directly administered by government authority, as in Great Britain and Luxembourg. In other countries, Italy or the Netherlands, by one or several autonomous institutions; in other countries like the United States, by local government organs; in others as in France, by regional, local or professional funds; and finally in some countries, as in Denmark directly by the trade unions. The degree of workers' participation in management is equally very diverse. There is none when the insurance schemes or social security are directly administered by government or local authorities (Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, Austria, etc.) In other cases, the workers participate in management together with the employers, and generally speaking with government representatives. In practice even in the best cases, only a minority of the workers participate in the management of this form of social protection in capitalist countries.

COMPLETE PROTECTION AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT

OUR examination has established that unemployment is a normal phenomenon of capitalism. We have shown its manifestation in present-day conditions, and also the forms and extent of social protection provided for in particular countries.

We have seen that social protection does not exist in many countries, and that the problem of making both ends meet while unemployed is left to the individual worker. We have seen how in other countries, far from there being guaranteed protection for the whole working class, such protection is limited to certain categories of workers who sometimes only represent a minority of the working population who must have been able to satisfy certain conditions laid down, in the matter of contributions made or work done. Finally, we have seen that the benefits are inadequate and everywhere are limited in duration. Thus, in the great majority of countries which have instituted a form of unemployment protection, this is organised on a restrictive basis and is therefore incapable of insuring satisfactory protection.

The Right to Social Protection

The first problem is to define the number of people to be covered by unemployment insurance. We have seen that in the schemes at present in force, protection is extended to various categories of workers either because they are insured or because the scheme covers the industry in which they work. In other words, the right to claim protection is conditioned. Any reform having for its sole aim the inclusion in the existing scheme of certain categories of workers, at present excluded from it, for example, agricultural, seasonal or domestic workers, would only mean a purely quantitative change affecting the numbers entitled to social protection, without at all altering its restrictive conditions.

We must, however, reaffirm the principle that social protection must apply to every worker who becomes unemployed, without regard to whether he is registered with an insurance scheme, or whether he has worked in a prescribed job.

Production is not a series of private acts, but a collective act of society. The right to obtain protection must for this reason be based on the fact that the workers as a class produce the national

wealth, and that the incident covered by the protection occurs independently of their will. In fact, in capitalist society the possibility of finding work does not depend on the wish of the worker, but on the demand for labour and in the last analysis, on the organisation of production. If capitalist production, being based on private profit and not the needs of consumption, is unable to make use of the available labour, then it must at least guarantee adequate social protection to workers whom unemployment has left without resources.

Social protection against unemployment is therefore a right which is applicable to the whole working class without exception. Not only workers employed in industry but also groups of young workers, agricultural, seasonal and domestic workers and others at present excluded by legislation in almost every capitalist country, must be covered.

As soon as we recognise the right of the whole working class to receive unemployment protection, it becomes clear that benefits will apply to any unemployed person who can prove he is a worker, without any condition of insurance qualification, of contributions or of work.

There can be no question that this qualification must apply to all those who, before losing their employment, have worked in some sector or other of production or distribution. It is a different matter for young people in search of their first employment and for agricultural workers, who at the same time, are owners of a small holding incapable of absorbing, and in consequence of repaying all their labour power. For the first group the difficulty can be easily overcome, by fixing a minimum age—at the end of the compulsory education period or at the beginning of the legal working age—for compulsory registration with an employment bureau, which amounts to a certificate of qualification to become a worker.

The question of the agricultural worker is more complicated. This includes also owners of small holdings which prove insufficient to afford them full subsistence. But in this case also the difficulties arising when it is necessary to assess them as workers with a right to social protection can be overcome, since it is possible to establish the period of real unemployment during the year.

It is necessary to protect every worker not merely against absolute unemployment but also against partial unemployment, resulting in a partial loss of income.

Duration and Scale of Benefits

HAVING defined the categories entitled to social protection during unemployment, and the basic conditions for the granting of benefits, we must now determine the nature of this compensation.

The aim of a complete scheme of protection must necessarily be (if protection is not to degenerate into charity) the defence of the living standards of the working class against all risks of society

which are attended by a loss or diminution of income, an increase of expenditure, or both occurring simultaneously. The scheme must therefore provide specific benefits which will permit those affected to get by without a serious lowering of their living conditions. This is why, from the moment when a social security system has been put into operation, the living standards of the working class will depend not merely on total earnings (i.e., after deduction of all stoppages), but also on the sum of benefits, whether these replace the wage (as sickness, accident and unemployment allowances) or whether they add to it (as family allowances).

To the worker, unemployment means a loss of earnings. It is naturally accompanied by a lowering of his living standards and constitutes an extra burden for the employed members of his family. Social protection against such an eventuality must therefore necessarily provide adequate compensation to make up for the wage he previously received.

Taking into consideration that the right to unemployment protection applies to all workers from the moment of unemployment, and that the aim of this protection is to maintain a certain living standard, the cash benefits should cover the whole period of unemployment, without conditions or time limits. The latter actually has no valid justification except in the desire to save a portion of the benefits. If a time limit should be established, the effect could only be to exclude from compensation all those who, through no fault of their own, were unable to find employment.

Benefits must cover the entire period of unemployment. They must be granted until the moment when the out-of-work person, who must be registered with an employment bureau, receives an offer of work at his own trade. It is obvious that an offer of work at some other trade cannot be used as an excuse to terminate benefit.

It would otherwise be really too simple for the ruling class to reduce the number of those receiving benefit. In circumstances where there is no possibility of taking on workers with given trade qualifications, the protection scheme must itself set about organising retraining courses, with the aim of facilitating the absorption of the unemployed into economic life.

It is more complicated to fix the rates of benefit than to decide the duration period, in spite of the fact that we have already defined the aim of social protection as the defence of the living standards of the workers. For obvious reasons it is impossible to demand full-scale compensation for the worker, i.e., compensation equalling the amount of wages previously earned, or which would have been earned if the worker had been allowed to take part in production.

On the other hand it is impermissible that the benefits should be so low as to create a considerable gap between the living standard of the unemployed, and that of the employed, workers. If this were the case, the very aim of social protection would be com-

promised, without mentioning the drastic reduction in demand for consumer goods which would follow, with the consequent threat to wages resulting from the competition taking place on the labour market.

In order to determine the scale of benefit, it is necessary therefore to take the various factors into account. Benefits must ensure the unemployed person not merely a simple existence, but also a given and determinable living standard, on the basis of concrete needs, which should approximate to those of the employed workers. If the level of wages in a given country allows the working class to enjoy only a very reduced living standard, compensations must not be allowed to differ at all significantly from this level, while in cases where the wage level is more favourable to the workers, the gap may be wider, although to a limited extent. In any case, we are of the opinion that the scale of real compensation should vary between 70% and 85% of normal income. Benefits below this level would be insufficient to satisfy the most essential and immediate needs. In fact, if we examine the average level of wages in the capitalist countries, we can establish that the greatest proportion of wages is absorbed by the most urgent needs, such as food, clothing and housing. Any worsening of the situation makes it extremely difficult to satisfy those basic needs.

It goes without saying that the living standard of the unemployed person depends on his right to benefit and on the value of the latter. But the living standard of the unemployed is not a matter which concerns them alone, since the lack of any adequate protection compels them to offer their labour power at a price lower than that demanded by the employed workers. The existence of a proper unemployment protection system and the struggle to obtain it are thus of direct interest to the entire working class, not only because its members may in future be caught by unemployment, but above all as a medium of defence and in order to eliminate the obstacles which hinder the improvement of wage levels. This common interest must therefore form the basis of unity between all workers, in the struggle for a proper unemployment protection scheme.

If we tackle the question of compensation scales, we must concern ourselves with the problem of how to determine this compensation. We already know why it is necessary to do away with benefits of fixed amount, since these are incapable of being adapted automatically to a new situation.

If protection is to be limited merely to guaranteeing a certain purchasing power to the unemployed, it would be necessary to establish the relationship between the benefits and the cost of living. In this manner the real value of the compensation, expressed in consumer goods, would be able to adapt itself more or less completely to the variations in the value of money. Thus we would have succeeded in ensuring the "constancy" of benefits in kind, expressed in consumer goods, without reference to the



"The Government should help us to live, not die."—says this banner carried by these unemployed Italian workers.

development of wages. In other words, if employed workers were to obtain a wage increase during the period in question, without the cost of living being affected the real value of the compensation would nevertheless remain constant, which means that the gap between the living standards of the employed and unemployed workers would be increased.

If, on the other hand, we mean to defend the standard of living of the working class by means of social protection, then compensa-

tion must necessarily be equal to wages. Earnings will tend to rise if the cost of living rises, even where there is no provision for a sliding scale, since workers are particularly inclined to fight to maintain the real level of their wages. But the workers' fight is not confined to this field, and it tends just as much to improve living standards at the expense of profits. If, however, compensation is linked to wages and follows wage advances, it is then adapted automatically not only when the cost of living goes up, but also when there is any real improvement won by the working class. In this way the ties between the employed and unemployed workers can be strengthened and the direct interest of the unemployed aroused in all wage battles.



A SCHEME of social protection against unemployment must not limit itself to the allocation of benefits, but must also seek to facilitate the re-entry of the unemployed into production. Under the anarchy of capitalist production, a situation is often found where there is a relative excess of manpower in one industry and a relative scarcity in another. On other occasions, unemployment arises from technical changes in production, which result in certain specialist qualifications being no longer required, while a new demand arises for different qualifications. Often the absorption of labour forces is hindered by the lack of trained personnel, either in an absolute sense or in relation to the qualifications sought. Other things being equal, those possessing the necessary skill stand the best chance of obtaining work.

Without doubt society is interested in having at its disposal a suitably qualified labour force (from the technical point of view). Equally the workers have the right to be productively employed, which would, within the limits of possibility, reduce the severity of unemployment. Further to reduce the possibility and duration of unemployment, implies equally to reduce the expenses of unemployment protection. The problem thus takes on particular importance within the framework of the social protection system, in the same way as the question of prevention must be of interest to bodies dealing with benefits for industrial accidents.

Vocational training must necessarily be directed towards those sectors which present practical opportunities of expansion.

Finance and Organisation

IN selecting a system, it is necessary to keep in view the aim to be realised. To assert that social protection constitutes a fundamental right for all workers, and that in consequence, the right to benefits extends to all, with no other condition than that of actual unemployment; to assert further that there must be no limit to the duration of compensation, and that the scale of benefit must be

such as to ensure a certain standard of living—to assert all this signifies implicitly to exclude all schemes of the insurance type.

These last are in fact based on restrictions which limit either the number of beneficiaries or the duration of benefit, the right to benefit, etc. It is apparent that the desired conditions can only be realised by a broad social security system, requiring as qualification for benefit only membership of the working class and being unemployed. The transition from a system based on the insurance principle to a system based on a social security system requires not only a quantitative change, that is to say an enlargement of the system itself, but a qualitative change, i.e., in the structure of social protection.

The financing of such a system is rather complicated. In our opinion, the means should be found either in a mixed system—of contribution and taxation—or exclusively in the state resources.

The reasons for which a system based solely on contributions must be rejected have already been indicated; since such a system does not take into account, in the distribution of costs, of the economic capabilities of the enterprises; it bears chiefly on concerns with a large labour force and on the other hand favours the great monopolist enterprises. Moreover, contributions, if they are high enough, have the effect of a tax on wages and make themselves felt as a hindrance to expansion, and sometimes also encourage the employers to cut down their staffs.

It is not difficult to realise that it is not permissible to require the workers to make contributions, for this would transform social protection into a redistribution of part of the employed workers' income among the entire working class, and would reduce the living standards of the workers below that permitted by their gross wages.

For the constitution of the funds, independently of the manner in which this is done, it is necessary to take into account the fact that the benefits granted in the case of unemployment make up a portion of the price of labour power of the community, and that its costs must consequently be borne by the employers. In the actual conditions of the various countries, it would be necessary to select the methods of financing and where necessary the sharing of the costs between contributions and taxation, in such a manner as to insure the best distribution of the cost of social protection. Thus, in one country it might be preferable to have a system financed by contributions with the participation of the state, and in another country to have the financing carried out exclusively by taxation. In the second case, it is necessary to ensure that the choice of taxation methods should be made in a responsible way, since it is necessary to avoid all taxation which might be capable of being transferred in the last resort to the workers in their capacity as consumers.

We have already been able to show that the schemes at present in force are organised in a very different way, that some of them

are based on a central organisation, others on local funds while others again are controlled directly by the State or by local authorities. This variation corresponds to the diversity of local situations, and for this reason it is not an easy matter to decide which is the best system. That is why it seems to us more correct that each country should study locally the best applicable form of organisation for the scheme, in connection with which it is a matter of ensuring smooth working and at the same time obtaining the greatest possible economies in administrative expenditure. But whatever the system selected, the administration of the organisation (or various units) should be entrusted to the trade union movement in cases where this is a united body and can offer responsible guarantees of representing the whole working class and its democratic character. In other cases, it should be handed over to representatives elected by all the workers. When the financing of the scheme is guaranteed exclusively by the State, it is necessary to obtain a mixed administration, permitting the broad participation of the workers and the full preservation of their rights.

The Fight for Social Protection in Countries with Temporary Unemployment

THE ensuring of a suitable social security system against involuntary unemployment, on the basis of the principles which we have just explained, involves much lesser difficulties if it is a question of temporary unemployment. In this case its importance, compared to the number of employed workers, is relatively limited, and only becomes serious with the development of the cyclical crisis.

In such a case the structure of society theoretically allows the utilisation of the entire available labour force, since this structure does not show a profound disequilibrium between the demand and supply of labour. In circumstances where such a disequilibrium is present, unemployment is only able to decrease as a consequence of an expansion in the means of production. Assuming that there is no permanent body of inherent unemployment, which is incapable of being absorbed even in prosperous times, the absolute and relative variations in employment over short periods depend on the evolution of the cycle itself, and for any individual worker a fairly regular distribution of work and a rather shorter period of unemployment. In the average "labour-life" the periods of employment are therefore incomparably longer than the periods of unemployment.

We thus find a situation where unemployment has the following characteristics: limited volume compared with the total available manpower and with the degree of employment; short duration when compared with the average labour-life. The introduction of a very broad system of social security is unable to secure substantial and structural modifications in the distribution of the social product.

It is apparent that with the extension of the scheme to cover more people, with the recognition of the right of the whole working class to enjoy protection and with the abolition of all preliminary conditions qualifying the right to benefit, the number of beneficiaries will naturally increase up to the point of coincidence with the actual number of unemployed. But we have already seen that this number is limited, and in consequence, the average number of beneficiaries will also be limited. The abolition of the time limit for benefits and their modification to support the real burden of unemployment will naturally bring about an increase in expenditure, which will be greater insofar as the difference between the efficacy of the scheme in force and that to be won is more considerable. Moreover the expenditure also mounts proportionately to the number of beneficiaries. But even in this case the increase is obviously limited. In spite of the additional costs and the abolition of the workers' contributions, financing does not present problems particularly difficult to solve, which should be a matter of financing by taxation or of a combination of financing by employers' contributions together with State assistance.

Having cleared the ground of all preconceptions on the question of the possibility of bringing into being an efficient unemployment protection scheme, we must concretely define the aims to be attained in relation to the actual situation in the individual countries, the advantages already achieved by the workers, the balance of class forces and the political and trade union maturity of the workers.

As we have already said, the final aim is not to achieve a modification of a purely quantitative type in the schemes, (where of course such schemes are in existence) by demanding for example the inclusion of new categories of workers, the reduction of the required conditions in the field of contributions or of work, in order to be able to obtain benefit, the increase of the latter, etc. Rather is it a question of carrying out a qualitative change, making the right to benefit (the scale of which should guarantee a given living standard) apply to all workers, in the event of unemployment. Similarly, where there are no social protection schemes, or where the existing systems are not obligatory, the final aim must not be to set up a protection scheme with limitations in regard to the numbers affected, the scale and right to benefit. But it must be to set up a system capable of putting into practice the principles we have just indicated.

If we take into consideration the consequences of social unemployment protection, that is the reduction of the employers' profits and the prevention of the exercising of pressure on wages, it is obvious that no benefit system can be achieved without a united struggle, drawing in all workers, whatever their political or religious opinions and trade union affiliations. It is not enough to mobilise either those who at the moment are excluded from social protection or those unemployed who receive little or no benefit. On the con-

trary, all workers should be directly concerned since unemployment affects them all, because it constitutes a permanent menace to their living standards.

The mobilisation of the masses can only be achieved on the basis of concrete and attainable aims, which must be adapted to conditions in the different countries and to particular categories of workers, and must also form a part of working class policy directed towards better standards of life.

These aims must therefore be determined according to the priorities and the initial volume of popular support in a given country, in such a way as to ensure the broadest mobilisation in action. The working class should seek support from craftsmen, small and medium employers, tradespeople, the liberal professions, and smallholders cultivating their own land.

An adequate system of social protection allows the employed person to maintain a given standard of life. Benefits thus constitute a part of current income and so help to maintain purchasing power. This is particularly significant during periods of stagnation and crisis. At such times, the demand for consumer goods falls suddenly because of mass unemployment (in cases where the unemployed are not compensated), which itself helps to increase the difficulties of the tradespeople, artisans, etc.

This is why the workers must seek for an alliance with these sections in their struggle for unemployment protection, since they stand to benefit indirectly by its achievement.

In Italy, for example, the working class has developed an alliance with such sections. In their fight against the policy of shutting down basic industry, which among other things leads to a loss of wages as a result of dismissals, and in consequence in a lowering of demand for consumer goods, the workers have had as allies the tradespeople, small agricultural proprietors, and shopkeepers who have gone into action by means of strikes, petitions, collections of signatures, meetings, etc.

A second sphere where it is possible to realise this sort of policy is that of financing social security schemes. The extension of the social security system and the abolition of workers' contributions mean an increase in the employers' contributions. This increase in costs may be covered by an increase either in contributions or in taxation. A system based solely on contributions does not distinguish between the economic capabilities of individual enterprises, but fixes the contributions on the basis of the wages paid out, and thus constitutes a heavier burden for enterprises employing a greater labour force in relation to the total capital invested in production. A parallel situation may be produced in the case of total or partial financing by the State, when the money is obtained by taxes which bear most heavily on the consumers (which brings about a contraction of the market) or on the small and medium enterprises.

It is therefore necessary to take into account not only the additional social expenses which result from the transformation of the protective system, but also the expenses already existing, and to redistribute them according to the real income of the various enterprises. On this basis, not only the working class, but also most small and medium employers, can participate in the fight.

This is why, in determining the concrete aims to be realised, it is necessary to take into account not only the economic and social situation, but also the need for an alliance of the working class with as many other sections of the people as possible.

In certain capitalist countries where there is already a broad system of social protection, the immediate objective must be to change its character and extend it. In France, for example, the C.G.T. has aimed at just such a radical transformation. Elsewhere, short-term aims can be achieved, like the increase in benefit scales and their determination not as a fixed sum, but in relation to wages, the extension of the scheme to more people, with for example the inclusion of young people in search of their first employment, agricultural workers, etc., the abolition of workers' contributions and of time limits or conditions attached to benefits, the readjustment of social insurance charges according to income, the control of social protection by the workers, or at the least their participation.

But in a case where the situation allows only limited aims to be set, these should be seen as part of a fight to achieve the right to social security against unemployment.

The Fight for Social Protection in Countries with Permanent Unemployment

IN the capitalist countries where unemployment has taken on a permanent character as a result of an insufficient capitalisation on the one hand and a superabundant supply of labour power on the other, the realisation of an adequate system of unemployment benefit raises much more serious problems.

The setting-up of a system to guarantee unemployment benefit and to ensure a given living standard, raises very difficult financial problems. Taking into consideration the constant high number of beneficiaries, and the scale of benefits which must guarantee a living standard not too much below that of the employed workers, the expenditure on such a scheme will be very high and difficult to apportion, if one does not wish to run the risk that its consequences may bring about serious harm to the economic life of the country. If the financing led to an increase in the contributions, this would act as a pretext for reducing employment. The raising of the necessary funds by taxation might also have similar effects.

The introduction of benefits results in an increased demand for goods. If the cost of the benefits is not carried by the employers' profits, but is transferred to prices, we end up not with

an increase in production, but with inflation. But this does not mean that it is necessary to renounce the policy of acting directly on consumption by a policy of increasing the benefits, even in the case of inherent unemployment.

The problem, however, cannot be solved if we limit ourselves to social protection. The solution must be found in the field of economic policy. The only genuine and effective protection against unemployment is its virtual abolition through the elimination of its fundamental causes, on the basis of expanding production.

It is, of course, obvious that it is impossible to do this without eliminating the forces interested in holding back production, and restricting the market for the benefit of monopoly profits.

In this way the struggle for social protection becomes part of the general struggle against the monopolies for the expansion of the national economy.

We are unable to enter as fully as we should like into the details of such action on the part of the working class. We will merely draw attention to the experiences of the Italian working class, which through its unified trade union organisation, the C.G.I.L., has put the problem in actual terms of struggle, in its "Plan for Labour." This plan which, in the economic conditions of Italy, constitutes the alternative to the ruling class policy of stagnation and war was conceived with the perspective of bringing about, by a campaign of public investment and by political action, a recovery of production in certain basic sectors of economic life, capable of producing a general increase in production and employment, and in consequence, an expansion of the market. The key sectors have been specified as follows:

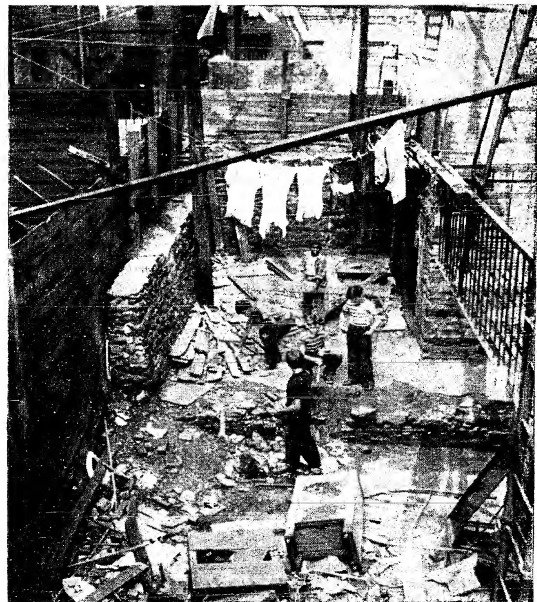
—The indispensable condition for a general recovery of production is the expansion of the hydro-electric industry (which in Italy represents the same thing as the coal mines for Great Britain, that is, the industry producing the motive power), by means of public investment and the elimination of monopoly through nationalisation;

—The development of uncultivated or insufficiently cultivated land in order to enlarge the disposable land fund (and, in consequence, to achieve more stable employment in agriculture) and in order to increase production and extend retail sales for products of the metal and engineering industries, whose recovery would thus be equally assured;

—An increase in the people's housing, not only to deal with the terrible shortage of houses, but above all to stimulate the recovery of all industries linked to building.

On this basis the Italian working class is every day succeeding in enlarging its sphere of activity by an effective policy of alliance with ever broader sections of small and medium employers.

How is it possible to link the fight for unemployment protection to the fight for increased production, and the expansion of



These five lads are busy building a fort with the debris from behind one of the working-class dwellings between 8th and 9th Avenue, in 52nd Street, New York City, U.S.A. When they leave school, will they find work?

employment? An alliance of this kind can be achieved by including in the general struggle such concrete objectives in the field of social protection as are capable of mobilising not merely the workers, but the broadest strata of the population. Thus a campaign to obtain an increase in benefits (the extension of the number of beneficiaries or increase of the rates of benefit, etc.), seen as part of the general fight against the monopolies, would stimulate increased consumption, bringing pressure to bear on one aspect of the crisis, by securing fuller use of existing enterprises,

and at the same time would act as a stimulant to make more effective the campaign to alter the structure of the economy. It is with this perspective that the working class should see its actions. Parallel with the struggle against the shutting-down of industry by demanding measures to ensure the recovery of the basic sectors of production, it is essential to raise in concrete terms the problem of the expansion of the consumer market, whether by an increase in wages, or by an increase in the volume of benefits by raising the number of beneficiaries and the rates of compensation granted. In the case of permanent unemployment, the fight must be carried through on the basis of broad unity, drawing in employed workers in the same way as the unemployed and all other economic strata interested in a recovery of production, on the basis of common objectives. But these aims must be defined not in narrow terms of social protection, but as part of a broad political platform, according to the actual conditions in the individual countries.

Thus in Italy, for example, the following objectives are laid down for the purpose of broadening the scheme in relation to the numbers affected, the inclusion of wide groups of workers at present excluded, such as agricultural and seasonal workers, and young people in search of their first employment (since the influence of this category on the total of unemployed rises every year, as a consequence of the incapacity of Italian economy to absorb them).

—Revision of the rates and duration of benefit, as well as the methods used to determine these.

—Organisation of an effective system of employing workers, ensuring an equitable distribution of opportunities for work and a trade training scheme designed to provide new forces for industry and agriculture.

—Equitable distribution of assessments on wages.

—Participation of the workers in the control of institutions for social protection, etc.

All these demands are a part of the struggle carried on by the working people for a new economic policy, the expansion of production, and prosperity.

APPEAL FOR THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR THE DEFENCE, IMPROVEMENT AND EXTENSION OF SOCIAL INSURANCE AND SOCIAL SECURITY

AT the end of the second World War the people of all countries hoped to see at last the fulfilment of their earnest desire for prosperity, progress and security in the social order. They were looking forward especially to improvement in the existing social insurance systems and the introduction of social security schemes for protecting the entire population against all risks.

These aspirations were so strong that important advances were registered in various branches of social legislation and social rights. However, this favourable development never extended to all countries. In particular, the colonial and economically undeveloped countries where social security was non-existent were still, in the main, left out.

Today, however, the people are confronted with the fact that not only are there no further advances but that an opposite tendency has set in. In an increasing number of countries there has been regression in the sphere of social legislation and advantageous projects already adopted are either being deferred or withdrawn. These attacks make themselves felt especially in the field of unemployment insurance, old age pensions and health services but they also affect other branches of social security.

In those countries where social security schemes do not exist increasing obstacles are being raised against their introduction.

The real value of social security benefits is being reduced and the functioning of social security systems jeopardised through inflation, rising costs of living and the heavy burden of armaments.

Millions of men and women are condemning this situation as it is well known that the economic, financial and technical resources of the world would be sufficient to ensure decisive advances in social security, and this is, in fact, proved by the continual progress achieved in this sphere by some countries which are constantly perfecting their social security systems. Consequently the most varied sections of the population in countries where there is regression in social security are expressing their very justified apprehensions and are insisting that this regression shall end.

Within the trade unions and other working class organisations the members have already carried on many activities expressing their determination to reverse the present trends. This desire has also found expression amongst many professional people including doctors, administrators and specialists in social questions, basing themselves on the support of the masses of social security beneficiaries.

Thus the initiative of the World Federation of Trade Unions in calling an International Conference for the Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security meets the needs of the present situation.

The International Conference, planned originally for December 1952 has been postponed at the request of several national groups to March 2nd—6th, 1953. It will be held in Vienna, Austria.

The following Agenda is proposed:

- (1) Adoption of the Agenda and rules of the Conference.
- (2) The Defence, Improvement and Extension of Social Insurance and Social Security and its inauguration in countries in which it does not exist.
- (3) Adoption of the recommendations of the Conference.

It is proposed that the Conference should bring together in a discussion open to the expression of all points of view, the experiences of the various countries; analyse concretely the present situation; establish general principles which may serve as a basis for social security systems in all countries, discuss the means to realise this programme and consider how best the people can defend and improve their systems of social security.

We are calling upon all who are in favour of social justice to endorse the present appeal and invite all organisations to elect or appoint delegates to attend this important Conference.

By contributing to the success of the International Conference you will help to raise the level of activity for the defence and advancement of social security and for its introduction where it does not yet exist. Thus a great contribution will be made towards raising the living standards of the people and opening the way for security and welfare in all countries.

Appeal adopted by the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference.

16th September, 1952.

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**ARRIVAL OF N. A. BULGANIN, CHAIRMAN
OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, MEMBER
OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE U.S.S.R.
SUPREME SOVIET, IN DELHI**

November 18

**SPEECH BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
AT PALAM AIRFIELD**

Your Excellencies, our esteemed guests,

I am very happy to welcome you as you first set foot on Indian soil. Your great country and India are not far from each other. They are almost neighbours. But in the past contacts between our two countries were very much restricted. Fortunately, they are now being rapidly extended in many spheres and we are beginning to get to know each other better. It was a happy and joyful event for me to visit the Soviet Union a few months ago and I was welcomed by your Government and people with a warmth and friendliness that I shall remember for a long time. That visit of mine helped to bring our countries closer together and now, I am convinced, your visit to our country will further strengthen the ties of friendship and co-operation between us. I trust that your stay here will be pleasant and fruitful for both our countries and that it will promote the great cause of peace and co-operation among nations.

Once again I welcome you. (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, dear friends,

We are happy to have come to the capital of the Republic of India at the kind invitation of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and to express personally our cordial greetings and best wishes to the great Indian people.

We step on the ancient soil of India with a feeling of joy springing from the profound sentiment of respect and friendship that the Soviet people have for the talented and hard-working Indian people, the creator of a great original culture.

The heroic struggle of the freedom-loving Indian people to restore the independence of their country has always met with the understanding and warm sympathy of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The Soviet people greeted the creation of a sovereign Republic of India with profound satisfaction and joy.

Our people has great faith in the creative forces of the Indian people which are playing an ever greater role in international life, in strengthening universal security and peace. The Soviet Government understands and sympathizes with the Indian Government's persistent efforts to ensure peace and raise the economy of the country.

The Soviet and Indian peoples have many common tasks. India and the Soviet Union are exerting great efforts to preserve and strengthen peace, and stand for the settlement of international issues by peaceful means, through negotiations, a policy which has already yielded substantial positive results.

The common efforts of India and the U.S.S.R. to extend their friendly relations are an important contribution to the easing of international tension.

We want to make use of our stay in India to get first-hand acquaintance with the Indian people, their customs and tra-

ditions, the results of their endeavours to advance their economy and develop their national industry.

We hope that our meetings with the Indian people and the extension of contacts with Indian statesmen will yield fruit for further strengthening mutual understanding and friendship between our countries.

Allow me to convey our sincere gratitude for your warm, cordial reception.

Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy applause.*)

**RALLY IN HONOUR
OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
IN DELHI
November 19**

Jawaharlal Nehru opened the rally and then gave the floor to Mr. Agarwal, Chairman of the Municipal Council, who, on behalf of the citizens of Delhi, read an address of welcome to N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov.

**ADDRESS
OF THE CITIZENS OF DELHI
PRESENTED
TO N. A. BULGANIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R.
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, MEMBER OF THE
PRESIDIUM OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET**

Your Excellencies,

I am proud that it has fallen to my lot to present you hearty greetings in the name of this ancient city of Delhi, one of the oldest historical capitals of the world. Almost at the dawn of history, this city, or its predecessors in this region, was the capital of great states. During those thousands of years the colourful history of India centred mainly round this historical locality. What is now called the old town of Delhi may be presumed to be the seventh town, and the

new city of Delhi, which has grown in the last thirty years, is therefore the eighth town in this region. Great empires rose and fell here. After a long period of foreign domination the city of Delhi has now again become the capital of a free and independent country.

During the past eight years of our freedom we welcomed many outstanding guests, including heads of states and well-known statesmen of countries in the East and the West. We consider ourselves especially fortunate to welcome Your Excellencies here today. The large audience which has assembled here on this happy occasion is a proof of the feelings of our people.

Five months ago our Prime Minister visited your great country. I wish to avail myself of this occasion to convey our profound gratitude to the Government and people of the Soviet Union for the warm welcome extended him, which deeply moved our people. That meeting was a symbol of friendship between our two countries and of our desire for peace.

At the present moment in world history the visit of Your Excellencies on the invitation of our Government and of the Indian people has a profound significance. It bears out and strengthens the growing friendship between India and the Soviet Union. We are convinced that, far from being useful to our countries alone, it will promote the cause of international peace and co-operation, which is so dear to our hearts.

Our friendship is not directed against any country or people. The aim that India has been striving to keep in view and to further is to have friendly relations with all countries, even if there are divergencies in views in the political sphere. We venture to think that such a policy has contributed in some measure to peace and mutual understanding.

Our people welcomed the statement of Your Excellency, Mr. Bulganin, and our Prime Minister in June. That statement, asserting faith in the Five Principles of active and peaceful co-existence, has great historical significance. Since then, these Five Principles, known in India as *Panch Shila*, have been taken as the basis of the agreement between India and China, have been gradually accepted by many countries in the East and the West, and have become the basic principles for the maintenance of peace. It is these principles and the maintenance of friendly relations with all countries, that lie at the basis of India's policy.

There is nothing new in this policy. It is the natural result of what India has thought of for many years in the past. 2,200 years ago the great emperor Asoka proclaimed his policy of tolerance and friendship towards all people, no matter what distinctions there were between them, and he had his edicts carved on many stone columns and rocks that have been preserved to our day and remind us of his message. We are proud and profoundly grateful that it is to our generation that the honour of serving this great cause has fallen.

The people of India deeply appreciate the many steps which Your Excellency's Government has taken to further the cause of peace and to relieve the tension and fear that unfortunately envelop the world. The world situation has already improved, though many very difficult problems still remain unsolved. But all people of common sense now realize that war is no solution and indeed is in itself an admission of defeat which may well bring ruin to present-day civilization. We know that the Russian people are devoted to peace and do all in their power to strengthen their own great country so as to ensure its well-being and advancement. We watch with great interest the success of those constructive efforts, which have brought the Soviet Union

to the forefront in science and the application of science and we highly appreciate them.

Our two countries differ in some ways in their political and social systems. Yet there is much in common between us and the objectives we have set ourselves, and there is much room for co-operation. We are happy that this co-operation is growing in the fields of science, technology and trade. Like the Soviet Union and many other countries, we are striving for the settlement of the disarmament problem so that the ever-present fear of war may disappear and each country be enabled to live in freedom and peace.

Wherever Your Excellencies may travel in India, we are sure that you will be warmly welcomed by our people. That will be greater evidence of our good will towards the people of the Soviet Union than formal addresses of welcome.

We hope that you will convey to the people of the Soviet Union the greetings of the citizens of this city and our good wishes for the further progress and prosperity of your great country. We believe that your stay in India will be pleasant and that you will take away with you abiding memories of the people of this ancient land, which has begun a new life since it achieved freedom. We thank you for giving us this opportunity to welcome you on behalf of the city of Delhi and its citizens. We venture to offer you as a token of our friendship and good will some examples of the fine work of famous Delhi artisans.

Long live friendship between the Indian and the Soviet peoples!

Your sincere admirers—
The citizens of Delhi

Ramlila Square,
Delhi, November 19, 1955

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Esteemed Mr. Prime Minister, Mr. Mayor of Delhi,
Our dear friends, men and women of the glorious Indian
capital, the wonderful city of Delhi,

Allow me first of all to thank the Indian Government
and the esteemed Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru on be-
half of Comrade Khrushchov, of our friends accompanying
us on our visit, and in my own name, for the kind invita-
tion that has enabled us to visit your great country and to
get to know better its talented and hard-working people.
(*Applause.*)

Allow me also to thank you all for the warm reception
that you have extended us. (*Applause.*) We are deeply moved
by this cordial reception and see in it a manifestation of
the great Indian people's sincere friendship for the peoples
of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

We convey to you, and through you to the entire 400 mil-
lion people of India, the hearty greetings and best wishes
of all the Soviet people, who feel sincere and disinterest-
ed friendship for the peoples of India. (*Applause.*)

The friendly ties between our countries are of long stand-
ing and have never been darkened by conflicts or enmity.
Friendship between the peoples of our countries started to
grow and develop particularly after the Great October
Revolution in our country. (*Applause.*)

Having shaken off their age-old yoke, the Soviet people
followed with profound sympathy your selfless struggle to
regain national independence. We rejoiced in your successes
in the struggle, for we always have been against the oppres-
sion of one people by another. (*Applause.*) Our great leader
and teacher Vladimir Ilyich Lenin proclaimed the recogni-
tion of equality of states, the right of all peoples to self-
determination, to national independence as one of the main
principles of Soviet foreign policy. (*Applause.*)

Since India has become an independent, sovereign state,
new, more favourable opportunities have arisen for the de-
velopment of friendship between our countries.

The Soviet Union and the Republic of India are now build-
ing their relations on a firm and reliable basis, on the prin-
ciples of respect for each other's territorial integrity and sov-
ereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's
internal affairs on any economic, political or ideological
grounds; on the basis of equality and mutual benefit,
and peaceful co-existence. First proclaimed by India and the
Chinese People's Republic, these Five Principles, which
you call *Panch Shila*, have been approved by all the
peace-loving peoples and are being successfully put into ef-
fect by a number of countries. (*Applause.*)

The Government of India has done and is doing much to
consolidate peace and ease international tension. (*Applause.*)
The Soviet people, which has repeatedly had to defend its
country in armed struggle against foreign invaders, knows
only too well what countless calamities war brings to peo-
ples and whole-heartedly acclaims the efforts of the Govern-
ment and people of India towards the preservation and con-
solidation of peace. (*Applause.*)

Our countries are allies in the international arena, in
the great and noble struggle for world peace.

We are particularly pleased to note that both India and the
Soviet Union take a consistent and firm stand on the impor-
tant question of the restoration of the Chinese People's Re-
public's legitimate rights in the United Nations. (*Applause.*)

The peoples of our country greatly sympathize with the
efforts of the Indian people and their Government to devel-
op their national economy, especially their own industry.
(*Applause.*) We have learned from our own experience that
only such a policy can ensure the genuine independence of
a state which has adopted the line of independent develop-

ment. You will, of course, have to overcome no small number of difficulties, but we are sure that the industrious and gifted people of India will be able to attain its goal. (*Applause.*) On our part we are ready to share with you our experience in building industrial enterprises, power stations, hydro-developments, the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes and other achievements.

All the necessary conditions for the development of trade and economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and India on the basis of true equality and mutual advantage are now provided.

Relations between our countries are assuming ever greater scope and variety. In addition to economy they also embrace science and culture. This is especially gratifying because a broad cultural exchange, the acquaintance of one people with the cultural treasures of another, brings them closer together and enriches them intellectually. We stand for broad exchange in all spheres of culture and the arts.

India and the Soviet Union have different social and political systems, but our people have much in common and this community strengthens our friendship and makes it more solid and fruitful not only for India and the Soviet Union but for the whole world. (*Applause.*)

The common features of the Soviet and the Indian peoples are that they are both peace-loving and industrious; they are opposed to racism and colonialism. They actively support the preservation and consolidation of peace, friendship and co-operation of all the countries, national sovereignty and international security. (*Applause.*)

Long live friendship and co-operation between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy applause.*)

Jai Hind!

(*The concluding words of the speech which mean "Long live India" were met with stormy applause and exclamations.*)

SPEECH BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Five months ago I paid a visit to the Soviet Union. Today we are welcoming here in the capital of India two distinguished leaders of the Soviet Union. In Moscow I had the pleasure of discussing many matters with the leaders of the Soviet Union and here also we shall discuss matters of common concern.

But my visit to the Soviet Union and Mr. Bulganin's and Mr. Khrushchov's visit to India are not merely a meeting of prominent representatives of two countries, important as that is. They are something deeper and more far-reaching.

When I was in the Soviet Union I came in contact with a vast number of Soviet people and they gave me abundant proof of their friendliness and good intentions. Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchov have been in Delhi little more than one day, but they must already be aware of the warm welcome that our people are giving them.

They will travel to other large cities in India and I am sure that everywhere they will have the same welcome, full of affection and good will. They will see several millions of India's great population, and in the eyes of those millions there will be good will and friendliness for them and the Soviet people.

This is, therefore, not merely a meeting of individuals however high-placed they might be, but rather a meeting of two great peoples, and this has a great historic significance. Early yesterday morning our distinguished guests started on their journey to India from Tashkent. They flew over high mountains and reached Delhi in the afternoon of the same day. The great mountain barrier that separates India from the other countries in the North and Northeast has ceased to be a wall between us. It is becoming a link

between our two countries. That also is significant; it forcibly impresses upon us how interconnected the modern world is. This interconnection and interrelation are not merely geographical and not merely due to the advancement of communications, they are even more a result of the flow of ideas and understanding which is gradually uniting the world.

I know very well that the world at present is not united and that fears and suspicions separate nations. But inevitably we are all developing closer relationships with each other. We welcome these developments, and we in India want to throw open our doors and windows to the wide world, so that there will be greater understanding among the peoples of different countries and each people will learn what is good in other countries, even though they differ in many ways.

There are far more points of agreement than points of disagreement. The essential aims of the human race are common to us all. Therefore we in India have been calling for what is called a dynamic and positive approach to peaceful co-existence. That is why we have ventured to place before other countries the Five Principles known here as *Panch Shila*, which provide for non-aggression, non-interference and co-operation, each country living its own life without interference of another. I am happy that the Soviet Government and people have also accepted these Five Principles and I am sure that more and more countries will accept them, because there is no other way for civilized humanity.

We in India are followers of one of the most remarkable representatives of the present age, Mahatma Gandhi, who told us to get rid of hatred and violence and make friends with all, at the same time holding to our convictions and principles. That approach we venture to make even with

those who disagree with us, and it has been our good fortune to have a large circle of friends among the nations and, I believe, no enemies. At any rate we feel no enmity towards any country.

It is in this spirit that the people of India approach the great Soviet people and seek their friendship and co-operation. We are simple people and have no sense of rivalry with any country. But we are bent on rebuilding our country along a socialist path of our choosing, so that everyone in India may be able to take advantage of the opportunities of progress.

In this respect we believe that we can learn much from the great advances made in the Soviet Union in many domains of human activity.

There are difficult problems in the world today, but we are convinced that every problem can be settled by peaceful and co-operative methods. We stand for peace above everything, because it is essential for us and for the rest of the world, and we are therefore comrades of all who also work for peace.

I need not add anything in my own name to welcome our distinguished guests, for they have already seen welcome in the eager and friendly eyes of our people.

(Nehru's speech was interrupted time and again by loud applause. Hundreds of thousands of voices echoed his concluding words: "Long live Indo-Soviet friendship!" "Jai Hind!" "Long live world peace!")

**VISIT
OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
TO AGRA**

November 20

**SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
TO CITIZENS OF AGRA**

Allow me on behalf of my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, of the friends accompanying us, and in my own name, to greet you and convey to you our cordial feelings and good wishes. (*Applause.*)

No words could express the sentiments we now feel. We very highly appreciate the evidence of the Indian people's friendship which has been given everywhere during our so far brief stay here.

I can assure you that our people in turn entertain the most sincere friendship for the people of India. (*Stormy applause.*)

You are now in the wonderful spring of national liberation and self-government. But I should like to warn you that freedom and independence can be consolidated only if you are able to develop your industry, machine-building in particular. (*Applause.*)

I do not want to give you advice. I believe that you understand everything very well yourselves.

We have just viewed a wonderful creation of man's labour, a magnificent tomb. When I viewed that monument

I had two feelings: the first was admiration for the grandeur of the people, their art, culture, skill which flourished already many centuries ago. This memorial is the pride of your people.

But I had another feeling too. I could not help thinking how kings and emperors did not spare man's labour, how wastefully they expended it. Erecting such monuments by slave labour, they exhausted the strength and means of the people for the sole purpose of self-glorification. And at that time, apparently, millions of people died of hunger. There you are—wealth on one hand and poverty on the other.

Excuse my digression, I wanted to express the feelings I had at the sight of that monument.

Once again, thank you for the hospitality, for the wonderful gifts you presented us. I express personal gratitude to the Governor and his wife who accompanied us and the representatives of the town authorities. I also thank the members of the reception committee.

We wish you all happiness and success! (*Stormy applause.*)

**DINNER GIVEN BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC
OF INDIA, IN HONOUR
OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV**

November 20

SPEECH BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen,

Our esteemed guests from the Soviet Union have spent in Delhi only two and a half days. During this brief time they have witnessed the unusual reception accorded to them by the population of this city. It would seem superfluous to add anything to that reception because our people have expressed themselves clearly, and we are only the representatives of the people. Nevertheless, I would like on my own behalf and on behalf of our Government to convey warm greetings to Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchov and to our other guests from the Soviet Union.

This is not merely an official greeting. Events have shown that there exist deep friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of our two great countries, which means much more than all the official greetings. Mutual understanding and friendship have been steadily growing despite the fact that the paths which our countries follow are different. Notwithstanding this difference in approach to the solution of our problems, which is inevitable under the circumstances determining the position of our countries, of our peoples, there have been no elements of conflict between us. In fact, there has been a mutual rapprochement in many important spheres of activity. I should be happy if this were so not only now but also in the future. We are

neighbours, and it is right that good-neighbourly relations and relations of friendship and mutual advantage have existed between our countries. I trust that this friendship is needed for other greater causes, above all for the most vital cause—that of world peace.

We in India have been brought up on our heritage and the deeds of our great leaders, as well as on the peaceful methods to which we have resorted in our struggle for freedom. So much the greater is our faith in peace and co-operation. To us, as to many other countries, this is a matter of the greatest importance, for, should war with all its horrors and misfortunes bear down upon the world, the great constructive work we have undertaken would be stopped.

Only eight years have passed since our country became sovereign and independent. During these eight years we have sought in every way to solve the manifold problems facing us. These are great problems because they bear upon the future well-being of a 370-million people who for a long time suffered from poverty. We trust that we can solve these problems and create a socialist structure of society in our country, giving each individual the opportunity to achieve well-being and progress. But we know that this is a difficult task and that it requires time. But no task is too difficult for a people determined to achieve success. We have this determination and we are imbued with faith in our people. We believe not only that the aims pursued should be good but that the means employed should be good as well, for otherwise new problems will arise and the aims change. We also believe that great aims cannot be attained through violence and hatred and that it is only through efforts designed to establish friendship and co-operation that world problems can be solved. Our hand of friendship is therefore stretched out to all countries and all nations.

We welcome the co-operation and friendly assistance of other countries. But we know that a nation develops by its own effort and its own strength. It was by relying on ourselves that we won independence, and it is by doing so that we hope to achieve the goals which we have set ourselves. We are not strong in the military or material sense. But we are strong by faith in our people. In this world beset with fear and apprehension, I should like to say in all modesty that we do not feel afraid. Why should we be afraid? We want to live in friendship with others. Why should we be afraid if our people are imbued with faith in their forces?

We have no claims to any other country or nation. We wish everyone well, and we ardently desire freedom and social and economic progress to come to all countries. The denial of freedoms, as well as racial discrimination, are not only improper but bear the seeds from which grows the evil tree of conflict and war.

We do not intend to instruct others, but we are convinced that world peace and security cannot be attained by military pacts and alliances, or by piling up armaments. We are not military-minded, and we do not approve of the use of military phraseology or a military approach to the problems of today. There is much talk of "cold war," of rival camps and groupings, of military blocs and alliances, all "in the name of peace." We are not party to any camp or military alliance. The only camp which we should like to be in is the camp of peace and good will. It should comprise as many countries as possible, and should not be opposed to any. The only alliance we seek is one based on good will and co-operation. If peace is to be sought, it should be done by peaceful methods, using the language of peace and good will.

I had the honour, as you know, to visit the Soviet Union and to find there a warm and hearty welcome. I should like

to express my deep gratitude to Your Excellencies and to the people of the Soviet Union for the sympathy they showed for me, which goes beyond any official bounds. I saw that in the Soviet Union colossal tasks have been set and that much has been done for the well-being of the people. I saw first and foremost an insistent and widespread desire for peace. This great work and this vital requirement coincided with my sentiments, and I saw that there was a rich and vast opportunity for co-operation between our two countries. The visit of Your Excellencies to India will undoubtedly facilitate this process of deeper mutual understanding and co-operation. It is therefore doubly welcome.

I sincerely believe that your visit to our country will promote the great cause of peace and co-operation which we all champion, and you will see for yourselves how the people of India dedicate their energies not only to improving their own position but also to the broader cause of progress of all mankind.

I should like Your Excellencies to convey to your Government and to your great people our greetings and message of good will and co-operation.

Your Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to drink to the health of their Excellencies Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchov and to world peace.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Mr. Prime Minister,
Ladies and gentlemen,

Allow me first of all to express my sincere gratitude to the esteemed Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Mr. Nehru, for the warm sentiments and friendly wishes he has addressed to the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

Throughout the course of history our countries have maintained friendly relations, and our peoples have treated each other with great respect. The peoples of the Soviet Union and India have always found mutual moral support in their struggle for a better future. Their friendship and co-operation have grown particularly firm now that India and the U.S.S.R. have many interests in common in the struggle for peace, for mankind's happiness. Our relations are based on the Five Principles. These principles were enunciated in our Joint Statement with Mr. Nehru last June when we, together with the entire Soviet people, were happy to welcome him in our country. The Soviet Union will firmly adhere to these principles in its relations with India and other peace-loving countries who have either proclaimed or are ready to accept the same principles.

India and the Soviet Union are peace-loving countries. We have different political and social systems, and we have chosen different ways for ensuring the prosperity and happiness of our peoples. But the word "peace" is equally sacred for the peoples of India as it is for the peoples of the Soviet Union. This desire for peace brings us closer together, unites us, and allows us jointly to play an active part in the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

The peoples of the world drew a sigh of relief after the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers, which created hopes of terminating the so-called cold war. The peoples now demand that the governments of all countries in the world should base their relations with other states on the spirit of Geneva.

The Soviet Government received with deep satisfaction the results of the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government and, as is well known, has taken a number of new concrete steps aimed at further lessening of international tension and promoting confidence between states. The

Soviet Government intends to pursue this policy in the future as well, regardless of the difficulties that may arise.

The Summit Conference was followed by the meeting of the Foreign Ministers who were to find ways for settling the questions raised in the Directives of the Four Heads of Government. We exerted much effort in order to attain agreed decisions.

To our great regret, however, the meeting of the Foreign Ministers did not go beyond a frank exchange of views.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Government has not lost hopes, and it is confident that in the end the Four Powers will find a proper solution to the problems facing them.

We have always been against the "cold war" and do not want it to return. We shall continue our efforts to bring about the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, reduction of conventional armaments, creation of a system of collective security in Europe, and the all-round extension of contacts between states.

As regards the German problem, our position has been, and remains, unchanged. Both time and patience are needed to solve this problem. We consider that for the settlement of this problem it is above all necessary to rely on the German people, and our task should be to help them in this matter.

Great historic changes have taken and continue to take place in Asia, the most important countries of which are the People's Republic of China, India, and the Soviet Union. It is of immense significance to world peace that relations between these three countries are based on the solid principles of peaceful co-existence, friendship, and co-operation.

The international prestige of the Republic of India is growing year after year. India is playing an increasingly important role in the discussion and settlement of the prob-

lems of Asia, and not merely of Asia. Everyone realizes that the prestige of India is growing not only because she is one of the biggest countries of the world but also because she has consistently and unswervingly championed peace. In this connection we cannot fail to point out the tremendous significance of the Bandung Conference of countries of Asia and Africa, which facilitated the creation of the Bandung spirit, an atmosphere which makes it easier to settle problems bearing on the destinies of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

With the active participation of India, solutions have been found to a number of complicated Asian problems. We are certain that India and her Government, headed by our friend Mr. Nehru, will continue actively to defend peace in Asia and the world at large.

We devoutly hope that our visit to India will serve to promote friendship and co-operation between our countries.

The Soviet Government wishes the Indian people and their leader—a courageous fighter for peace—Jawaharlal Nehru—further success in the building of the new India.

Allow me to propose a toast to Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of the Republic of India, and to wish him good health and the best of success in his noble activity for the benefit of universal peace and friendship between our countries.

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV AT DELHI STATE BOY SCOUT RALLY

November 21

Allow me to greet you on behalf of my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin and the friends who accompany us on this trip through your wonderful country, and on my own behalf. (*Applause.*)

We express especial gratitude to Prime Minister Nehru for his invitation to visit your beautiful country.

We have seen something of your life in this camp. In many ways it reminded us of the camp life of our children, who have an organization of their own, its members being called Young Pioneers. I have been told that you like very much to live in camp. In our country, too, the children who spend the summer in camp greatly enjoy it.

We are very glad to see that you not only rest in this camp but learn to work. That is wonderful. It is only labour that ennoble man and provides him with the means of existence. He who is not engaged in useful work takes no part in what is created by man's genius.

There is one more thing I should like to tell you. When the leader of the Boy Scouts spoke here he thanked us for having come to see you. (*Applause.*) But I would say that this trip is by no means a courtesy on our part, but a necessity. We must strengthen friendly relations between our countries.

Your fathers who won independence for your great country deserve high esteem, and the people give them due credit. Pursuing an independent policy your Government, headed by Mr. Nehru, has established the best relations of friendship with the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) These relations are based chiefly on the joint struggle for the lofty cause of consolidating world peace.

Hence our friendship rests on the strongest foundation (*stormy applause*), and it will develop successfully.

We rejoice at your successes, at every success you achieve. We rejoice, in particular, at your success in fulfilling your first five-year plan. You have now begun to draw up a second five-year plan. This task is of great importance. It has two aspects: the advance of agriculture and the strengthening and development of industry.

Without advance in agriculture the plan for industrial development cannot be fulfilled. In order to build factories and mills it is necessary to have bread, clothing, and whatever else is required for man's living. India has a huge population, and there can be no doubt that her requirements in foodstuffs and first necessities will go on increasing from year to year.

But, on the other hand, the problem of advance in agriculture cannot be solved without industrial development. And machine-building is the life and soul of industrial and agricultural progress. Of course it is interesting to watch an elephant at work, as I have seen it in the cinema. But tractors, automobiles and locomotive engines are stronger and more obedient to man. We have learned this by our own experience; we have no elephants but we used to work with oxen and horses, and when we replaced them by machines things improved a good deal.

Under the second five-year plan you intend to develop your industry. That is very important. We Soviet people

know from our own experience that industrial progress is of enormous importance in all respects. It is especially important to remember that the freedom won must be upheld. To create conditions for the country's complete independence it is necessary to build a firm foundation in the shape of an adequate industry and to rely on it.

In so doing it is important primarily to count on one's own strength, the more so as certain rich countries, rendering aid to others, seek to dominate those who receive the aid.

You are rich by your spirit. And that is worth more than any capital. And if that rich, proud spirit of your people is backed by the development of your national economy, by your own industry, you will become richer still.

Just a few words more. Our Government and your Government are living very harmoniously now. (*Applause.*) To a great extent we attribute this to the activities of your remarkable leader, Mr. Nehru. (*Applause.*)

Having come here we have seen many good slogans inscribed on streamers in the streets of your city. They call "for eternal friendship between India and the U.S.S.R." We are for eternal friendship. (*Stormy applause.*) But we who have established friendship belong to the old generation. Young people! The future is yours. You must continue these established friendly relations (*applause*), strengthen them, and pass them on from generation to generation. (*Stormy applause.*)

That will mark the beginning of the eternal friendship of which you speak so well.

We wish your best dreams to come true. To the adults we wish success in fulfilling the second five-year plan. And to you we wish success in your studies, in training for useful, noble work, in serving your country honestly, in strengthening and protecting it.

We wish you success! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECHES
BY N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
IN THE PARLIAMENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA
November 21

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Honourable Chairman,
Honourable Members,

Allow me in the first place to express my deep gratitude for the opportunity given me to speak from this high rostrum, which I consider a great honour. (*Prolonged applause.*)

At the meeting with the citizens of your glorious capital, Delhi, I had the opportunity to convey our gratitude to them and to your Government for the warm and cordial reception accorded to us everywhere. We conveyed the friendly greetings and wishes of the Soviet people to the great people of India. (*Applause.*) I want to say that all of us, your guests, were deeply moved at the sight of the hundreds of thousands of friends greeting us on Ramlila Square. The unanimity, sincerity and power of the feelings manifested revealed to us most convincingly that in the people of India the Soviet people have a loyal and disinterested friend. The Soviet people, on their part, will do all in their power so that this friendship may grow broader and deeper. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The friendship between our peoples dates from the distant past. Nearly five centuries ago, even before the first European ships came to the shores of your country, the Russian traveller, Afanasy Nikitin, visited India and wrote a book

that was an outstanding work for the time about the wonderful country in which he had lived several years and for which he had conceived a warm affection. This was the first "discovery of India" by the Russians.

Relations between our countries gradually became stronger and broader. Books on India began to appear in Russia. The Russian people also gained information and ideas about your country from your wonderful literature. The first translations of works by Indian writers, including those of the great Indian poet and dramatist, Kalidasa, appeared in Russia as far back as the 18th century. (*Applause.*) Translations of the Indian epics subsequently received wide circulation. (*Applause.*)

Contact and mutual understanding between our peoples became closer after the victory in Russia of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The principles of equality and self-determination of nations proclaimed by our revolution met with a broad response in other countries, including India, then under colonial subjugation.

The Soviet people, on their part, sincerely sympathized with the devoted and courageous struggle waged by your people against colonial oppression and for the restoration of the independence of their country. (*Applause.*) We know how greatly important in that struggle were the ideas and guidance of the distinguished leader of the Indian national movement, Mahatma Gandhi. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In the Soviet Union there is a tremendous interest in India, its history and culture, the life of its people, and in the reforms being carried out in your country. This is evident in the steadily widening relations between the U.S.S.R. and India in the fields of culture, art, science and sport. Indian films shown in our country and the Indian exhibitions arranged in Soviet cities have been extremely popular. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet people are also deeply interested in Indian literature. (*Applause.*) Numerous editions of the talented works of Rabindranath Tagore have been printed in our country, and an edition of his collected works is now appearing. The Academy of Science of the U.S.S.R. has put out the works of the famous Indian poet, Tulsi Das. (*Applause.*) Translations have been published of the works of the distinguished writer, Prem Chand, and others. A Russian edition has appeared of Mr. Nehru's *The Discovery of India*, from which Soviet readers have learned much that is new and interesting about your country. (*Applause.*)

The cultural intercourse developing between our countries reveals to the Soviet people all the diversity of your ancient culture, gives them an idea of India's contribution to world civilization, and acquaints them with the modern cultural and scientific attainments of the Indian people. (*Applause.*) There is no need to say how important this is, how it contributes to intellectual enrichment.

Friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India were greatly furthered and strengthened by the visit paid to our country by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, whom the Soviet people heartily welcomed. (*Applause.*) Mr. Nehru's visit to the U.S.S.R. was a great and memorable occasion for our people. As a result of his visit, it has become clearer that our countries can learn a great deal from each other and derive no little benefit from co-operation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Co-operation between India and the Soviet Union now has many different sides and, in addition to cultural relations, it embraces the economic sphere, and also the effort to promote peace and ease international tension. On this latter point I should like to dwell in somewhat greater detail.

The era in which we are living is one of great changes and scientific discoveries which pave the way to an unprece-

dent unfolding of man's cultural and material potentialities. This we must all bear in mind. On the other hand, we must not shut our eyes to the attempts by reactionary forces to reverse the forward march of history, to utilize the discoveries of human genius to the detriment of the peoples, to direct the achievements of science and technology to the destruction of cultural and material values, and to the annihilation of millions of human beings. This lays a very grave responsibility upon the peoples, the parliaments and the governments for the preservation of peace. The Soviet people and the Soviet Government are fully cognizant of this responsibility, and are doing all in their power to safeguard peace and progress. (*Applause.*) We, Soviet people, are deeply gratified by the fact that in this matter the paths of our peoples and our Governments do not diverge. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people highly appreciate India's contribution to the cause of peace. (*Applause.*) It was owing to the joint efforts of India, the Chinese People's Republic and the Soviet Union that a cease-fire was achieved in Korea and the fires of war extinguished in Indo-China. India actively insists that the Chinese People's Republic be accorded its lawful seat in the United Nations. The Government of India advocates a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question with due regard for the national interests and lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic.

India was one of the sponsors of, and played a distinguished role in, the first conference of Asian and African countries. The value of this conference for universal peace and for safeguarding the rights and national interests of the peace-loving peoples of the two continents can hardly be overestimated.

The Soviet Union knows and whole-heartedly approves the stand taken by the Indian Government on the question

of prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons and reducing conventional armaments, with a view to utilizing for peaceful purposes the immense resources now absorbed by the arms drive.

The people of the Soviet Union entertain a deep respect for the efforts of the Indian Government against the policy of forming aggressive military blocs, and for collective peace and the settlement of international issues by negotiation. (*Applause.*)

Based on the famous Five Principles, Soviet-Indian relations are clear confirmation of the precept that peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation between countries with different social and political systems is possible. This important precept is increasingly winning supporters, and I should like to express the hope that it will be adopted by most of those who now oppose peaceful settlement of international problems by negotiation, and who still strive to conduct their foreign policy from a "position of strength."

The Soviet Union's foreign policy is a policy of international peace and friendship, a policy of active and consistent effort for peace, and against war and all outside interference in the internal affairs of countries. (*Applause.*) We follow the behests of our great teacher, V. I. Lenin, and build our policy on the principle of respect for all nations, on the principle that all peoples have the right to independent national development in accordance with their own wishes and interests. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union holds that aggression in any form is contrary to the conscience and honour of nations, and leads to immense destruction of material values and of the most precious thing on earth—human life. We, therefore, emphatically reject war as a means of settling international disputes and stand for peaceful settlement of outstanding issues, by negotiation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The joint efforts exerted in this direction by the peace-loving forces, including India and the Soviet Union, have already brought good results, and, in particular, influenced the outcome of the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers. This conference was marked by a spirit of co-operation, and played an important part in easing international tension and restoring confidence among the Four Powers. It prepared the ground for concrete examination by the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers of such questions as disarmament, European security and Germany, and development of East-West contacts.

At the recent conference of Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers, the Soviet Union acted in the spirit of Geneva and strove for agreed decisions on all these issues.

We know that at this time the attention of all mankind is focused, in particular, on the question of disarmament, since the growth of armaments, both of conventional weapons and weapons of mass destruction, inspires in the peoples deep alarm for their future.

The Soviet Union has always stood for disarmament and complete prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. (*Applause.*) The Soviet Government has been striving for this for years now, regarding disarmament as the primary object of its foreign policy. The main thing in the problem of disarmament, as we see it, is to ban atomic and hydrogen weapons and to end the arms race.

Prompted by good will and the desire for genuine disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the Soviet Union agreed to the proposals made by the Western Powers at the beginning of this year concerning levels of armed forces for the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the Chinese People's Republic, Great Britain and France, and also concerning the time when complete prohibition of atomic and

hydrogen weapons shall enter into force. The Western Powers declared that they could not agree to prohibition of nuclear weapons until conventional weapons had been reduced to the extent of 75 per cent of the agreed reductions. We accepted this proposal too.

What is more, adhering to the rule that actions speak louder than words, the Soviet Government decided to reduce its armed forces by 640,000 men, and today this decision has in the main been carried out, which is a very real contribution towards establishing confidence among the nations.

Our proposals envisage an effective system of control of reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, including the establishment of control posts in the countries concerned with the object of preventing surprise attack by one state on another. It is perfectly clear to us that settlement of the question of control must be linked with the chief question, disarmament. Attempts to settle the question of control of disarmament without disarmament itself, are contrary to common sense and to the aspirations of the peoples.

It is greatly to be regretted that our efforts to break the deadlock on the question of disarmament and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons have so far not led to positive results. In point of fact, the United States, Great Britain and France have rejected what they themselves proposed at the beginning of this year. It should be noted that on the question of disarmament, the Western Powers are moving backward, retiring from their former position, and that their new proposals throw back disarmament at least ten years.

Despite the new difficulties the Soviet Government will continue to work for prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons and settlement of the disarmament problem. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Gentlemen, I should also like to make a few observations on the question of European security. Europe lies a long way from India, but it is an area of the world where developments in the past several centuries have exerted an influence on the whole world. We have only to recall that the first and second world wars began in Europe.

All nations are alarmed, and understandably so, by the fact that there are military alliances in Europe, and that in a number of European countries there are foreign forces and military bases. Mr. Nehru has repeatedly pointed out that the policy of forming military blocs leads not to peace and relaxation of international tension, but to strained relations between states and, in the final analysis, to war. You know that we hold the same view. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Government is opposed to the policy of forming military blocs, and favours the liquidation of the blocs already formed. We have proposed the establishment of a system of collective security in Europe, with the participation of all European countries and the United States of America. This proposal, which we put forward already last year, was opposed by the Western Powers on the plea that it would destroy the North-Atlantic bloc, which, it was alleged, was formed for purely defensive purposes. But when we signified our desire to join NATO, the Western Powers would not have us, thereby confirming the falseness of their claim that NATO is a defensive alliance, and showing that it is an exclusive, aggressive combination.

In view of these circumstances, and also of the conclusion of the Paris Agreements integrating the German Federal Republic into the North-Atlantic bloc, the Soviet Government and the Governments of other East-European states were forced to adopt additional measures to safeguard their security and, in the spring of this year, signed the Warsaw Treaty.

The conclusion of the Warsaw Treaty was an enforced act, necessitated by the attitude of the Western Powers, and we are prepared to renounce it as soon as a European security system is established and the Western Powers give up their North-Atlantic treaty and the Paris Agreements.

The policy of forming and expanding military alliances, and of establishing or retaining bases on foreign territories, does not make for international confidence, and is an obstacle to the peaceful development of nations. Taking this into account, the Soviet Union has relinquished its bases at Port Arthur, on Chinese territory, and at Porkkala Udd, on Finnish territory, and now has no military bases whatever on foreign territory. (*Applause.*) If certain other powers which have military bases in foreign countries followed the example of the Soviet Union; that would be a weighty contribution to further relaxation of international tension and would back the spirit of Geneva with concrete actions. (*Applause.*)

But here too, unfortunately, we observe an unwillingness on the part of certain circles to adhere to the spirit of Geneva in their practical activity. This is attested, in particular, by the attempts to expand and strengthen the notorious "defence" treaty organization in Southeast Asia, in which non-Asian countries are mainly represented, and by the formation of a military bloc in the Middle East, on the borders of India and the Soviet Union. In these circumstances, the Soviet Government considers it its duty to be particularly vigilant with regard to the manoeuvres of the enemies of peace and international co-operation.

One of the important issues, indisputably, is the German problem: will Germany develop into a peaceful and democratic state having nothing to do with military blocs, or will she take the course of resurrecting militarism and participating in the military combinations of the Western Powers? The

interests of peace in Europe and the world demand that a united Germany take the former course, the course of peaceful and democratic development. It is these interests which determine the attitude of the Soviet Union to the German question.

We also base ourselves on the actual fact that two German states have arisen in the past ten years—the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, which have different social systems. In our opinion, the settlement of the German problem is primarily a matter for the German people themselves, and it is the duty of the Great Powers to assist them to reunite Germany along lines of peaceful and democratic development. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet Union has proposed the establishment of an All-German Council, a body which might co-ordinate the efforts of the two existing German states in the political, economic and cultural affairs of the German people, and also in respect to co-operation with other countries in promoting peace. All this would help to create the conditions for a settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany through free elections, in accordance with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security.

In the past half year the Soviet Union has taken a number of new and important steps to facilitate creation of an atmosphere of confidence and promotion of peace in Europe. The Soviet Union re-established, and is effectively developing, friendly relations with Yugoslavia. A state treaty was concluded with Austria, which has adopted the status of perpetual neutrality. Agreement was reached on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the U.S.S.R. and the German Federal Republic. A treaty was concluded on relations between the Soviet Union and the German Demo-

cratic Republic, which reaffirmed the sovereign rights of the G.D.R. These measures of the Soviet Government speak for themselves. (*Applause.*)

A feature of our time is the profound changes taking place in the political situation in Asia and the entire East. There is a grand historical process of awakening of the peoples of the East to active political life. This process is in full swing, and there is no power that can halt it. True, there are some who would shut their eyes to the great historical changes now under way in the East. But they are there and, what is more, they are exerting, and are bound to exert, an immense influence on international affairs.

The present international situation in Asia is beset by a number of problems whose solution will call for strenuous effort. A problem that evokes disquiet, for instance, is that of securing a political settlement in Indo-China in keeping with the decisions of the 1954 conference in Geneva. The Soviet Union will strive unflinchingly for the carrying out of these decisions. (*Applause.*)

Thus, gentlemen, the foreign policies of our countries have much in common. In the final analysis, we are striving for one object, namely, to lessen international tension, to preserve and strengthen peace, to avert war and save mankind from its horrors, to enable the peoples to work in tranquillity and relish the joys of peace. What could be more noble than this? I think you will all agree that this lofty aim is worth working for with rolled up sleeves, as we say in our country, and sparing no effort. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We also have much in common in respect to the problems posed by the internal life of our countries.

When our people carried out the October Revolution they set themselves the task of reconstructing their country economically and culturally, of converting it into an industrial socialist country. Under the leadership of the Communist

Party, the Soviet people have successfully accomplished this momentous task.

You are going your own way. But you, too, are faced with the problem of converting your country, now that it has for ever thrown off colonial rule, into an advanced state, with a developed national economy and a sufficiently high standard of living. The Soviet people fully understand and sincerely sympathize with your efforts for the accomplishment of these tasks. (*Applause.*)

In our opinion, all the conditions now exist for further extending Soviet-Indian co-operation in the economic and cultural spheres, and also in scientific and technical research. We are ready to share with you our economic, scientific and technical experience. (*Applause.*) This accords with the wishes and aspirations of our people. The necessary conditions have also been created for extending trade between our countries on a basis of equality and mutual benefit. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All that we have seen in the first days of our stay in India confirms our deep conviction that the further development of relations between our countries rests on a firm foundation of common and many-sided interests. (*Prolonged applause.*)

May friendship and co-operation between our peace-loving countries broaden and develop in the interest of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union, and in the interest of preserving and consolidating world peace! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Mr. Chairman,
Honourable Members,

Allow me to thank you cordially for the honour of addressing the Parliament of the Republic of India. (*Applause.*)

We have come to your country, on the kind invitation of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, to pay a friendly return visit, so that we may personally attest our deep respect and express the sincere sympathy of the Soviet people for the friendly people of India, and acquaint ourselves with their life and work. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are glad to greet you and to convey the warm greetings of the Soviet people to the great freedom-loving and talented Indian people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The warm and cordial welcome we have received from the Indian people surpassed our expectations. We interpret the sincere delight and friendship your people express when meeting our delegation as a reward to the peoples of the Soviet Union for their disinterested and sincere attitude to all nations, big and small. (*Applause.*) We credit the feelings of affection which the Indian people express with such fervour to the active support given by the Soviet Union to peoples struggling against colonial slavery, and to our efforts for lasting and stable peace throughout the world. (*Applause.*)

When we visit historical places, and when we meet with the hospitable citizens of India, we often hear, and read, the splendid words: "The Indian and Soviet peoples are brothers!" (*Applause.*)

These words accord with all our wishes and all our work. So it is today, and so, dear friends, it will be for ever. Our peoples are brothers in spirit and in all their aspirations. (*Stormy applause.*)

Here, under the roof of your Parliament, I should like to point out that friendship between our peoples has been developing for centuries, and never has it been marred by conflicts or quarrels. (*Applause.*)

And now, when India has acquired political, national independence, the bonds of amity between our countries grow

stronger from day to day, which accords with the vital interests of our peoples, and is in line with the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by India and China. (*Applause.*) These principles are now espoused by countries inhabited by a large part of humanity, including the great Indian, Chinese and Soviet peoples. (*Applause.*)

For many centuries India held the status of a colony. Your wonderful country, which has made so big a contribution to human culture, was condemned by the colonialists to the existence of a vassal. The Soviet people have always deeply sympathized with the struggle of the Indian people for national independence, because they themselves in the past had suffered much grief and oppression at the hands of alien conquerors.

Our wise teacher, V. I. Lenin, wrote as far back as 1923 that Russia, India, China and other countries, which together embrace the vast majority of the population of the globe, were being drawn with extraordinary rapidity into a struggle for emancipation, and he predicted that this struggle would end in victory. These were truly prophetic words which developments have fully confirmed.

We are living at a time when a momentous change has taken place in the life of many nations, when the colonial system, under the mighty blows of the national-liberation movement, is breaking up. (*Applause.*)

Victories of historic importance have been won by the great Chinese people, and they are now effectively building a new and free life. All progressive men and women hailed the national independence won by the great Indian people. The peoples of Indonesia, Burma and other countries have thrown off alien rule. The inhabitants of these countries constitute more than half the human race. All the attempts of the colonialists to divert the peoples of these countries from the path they have chosen are doomed to fail.

India's conquest of state sovereignty and national independence is a momentous thing. The Soviet people note with deep satisfaction and pleasure that the path of free and independent development is opening before the peoples of India. By developing their independent state they will be able to raise their standard of living and cultural level and promote the economic progress of their country. The accomplishment of these great tasks depends on the Indians themselves.

The Soviet people fully understand the desire of the Indian people for stable and durable peace, for only in conditions of peace can these aims be achieved. (*Applause.*)

The course of social development shows that every country, if it is really to become independent and promote the welfare of its people, must have a developed economy independent of foreign capital. Experience teaches that the efforts of the colonialists to subjugate an economically weaker country may take the most diverse forms. They seek in every way to retard the development of its home industry, for they fear that, by creating an industry and an intelligentsia of its own, and raising the living standards of its people, the formerly subjected country may become stronger and be able to develop independently. (*Applause.*)

We hail the perspicacity of India's statesmen, who understand this, who see where lies the source of possible danger to the independence of India and are working to avert it.

We sincerely wish you to have a powerful home industry, that your country may develop science, culture and education, and that success and happiness may always attend the people of India. In saying this, we are guided by the immortal teachings of the great Lenin, who held that the people of every country are entitled to live as they wish, without interference by other countries in their affairs.

We are often accused of trying to export ideas of communism to other countries, and many other absurd things are said of us. Any attempt by an oppressed people to throw off the yoke of alien conquest is attributed to incitement from Moscow. (*Laughter and applause.*)

Following their chosen path of socialism, the Soviet people have achieved great progress in their development. But we have never attempted to force our ideas of social reconstruction on anyone. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Why are fabrications about the Soviet Union put into circulation, and by whom? They are sponsored by reactionary elements in order, by lying fables about a communist menace, to frighten people and whip up war hysteria. They want the least amount of truth about our country to penetrate to the masses, because the truth about the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is devastating to the forces of reaction, to the colonialists, to those who want to perpetuate the enslavement of nations by other nations, the exploitation of the labour of others. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The truth is that only with the coming of Soviet government, government by the workers and peasants, did the peoples of our country—the Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Azerbaijanians and others—acquire genuine freedom to develop their economy and their national culture, and were able to give free rein to their creative energies.

The Soviet Union is a firmly cemented multi-national state, comprising sixteen equal Republics, each having its own developed national economy, and its own distinctive national culture. In our country we strictly observe full equality of rights of all citizens, irrespective of nationality or race. Any direct or indirect restriction of the rights of citizens or, conversely, any establishment of direct or indirect privileges for citizens on account of race

or nationality is punishable by law. All the peoples of our country constitute one harmonious family. The friendship among our peoples is one of the powerful sources of strength of our Soviet state.

In order to give a fuller idea of what the Soviet people have accomplished since the overthrow of tsarism, the following figures might be cited. Compared with 1913, gross industrial output in the U.S.S.R. in 1955 has increased 27-fold (*applause*), output of means of production, 60-fold (*applause*), production of articles of consumption, 11-fold (*applause*), production of electric power, 86-fold (*applause*), production of machinery, more than 160-fold. (*Applause.*)

Besides developing industry, the Soviet Government devotes much attention to agriculture. Our peasants, united in collective farms, and with the aid of machinery, have achieved considerable success in increasing agricultural output.

The Soviet Union is now a highly developed industrial power, and is on the same level of economic development as the most technically advanced capitalist countries.

All the world acknowledges that our country has made tremendous cultural progress. If, before the October Revolution, 76 per cent of the inhabitants of tsarist Russia were illiterate, already before the Second World War illiteracy in our country had in the main been abolished. This year, nearly 35 million pupils are attending primary, seven-year, secondary and adult schools, labour reserves schools and technical schools. Over 1,700,000 students are enrolled in our universities and institutes.

Already in the early years of Soviet rule mass schools were organized in our country, and workers' faculties instituted, in which sometimes even semi-literate workers and peasants enrolled, studied persistently and received a secondary, and

then a higher education. Now we have a wonderful intelligentsia, a genuinely people's intelligentsia. More than 5,500,000 specialists, people with specialized higher or secondary education, are working in the national economy of the Soviet Union. We have some 217,000 general schools, 3,796 technical schools and other specialized secondary educational establishments, and 798 universities and institutes. In the U.S.S.R., the conditions have been created for the introduction of universal secondary (ten-year) education within the next few years.

Our country, of course, is not yet a paradise. There are many shortcomings. But we are aware of them, and are doing everything we can to remove them as quickly as possible.

In talking with people from other countries, and when reading the foreign press, one often meets with incorrect ideas about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. As First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U., I should like to dwell a little on this question.

Yes, many legends are spread about the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. And this is not surprising, because our Party organizes and unites the masses for the building of an entirely new society—a communist society, one fundamentally different from the old, capitalist society.

I think you will not suspect me of indulging in propaganda. (*Laughter and applause.*) We consider that ideas are a matter of the conscience, the outlook not only of each nation, but of each individual. After all, there are people in our country who do not belong to the Communist Party. The Communist Party has 8 million members, and the Young Communist League nearly 18.5 million members, as against the 200 million inhabitants of the Soviet Union. (*Animation.*) Consequently, very far from all in our country are members

of the Party or the Young Communist League, and, what is more, that is not our object. But all the people of our country are united around the Communist Party, and rightly regard it as their organizer and leader. In our country, the people and the Party are inseparable.

Ideas and convictions are the personal affair of each individual. In the U.S.S.R., Communists and non-Communists, atheists and believers work jointly and harmoniously for the good of the people. Freedom of worship is recognized for all citizens. Freedom of conscience and religious faith is not only proclaimed, it is strictly guaranteed by the state as a constitutional right of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. (*Applause.*) Among the Soviet citizens are Christians, Moslems, Buddhists, Baptists and people of other denominations.

Our great teacher, Lenin, who deeper and better than anyone understood the laws of development of modern society, founded the Communist Party as the vanguard of the working class, as the most advanced section of the peoples of Russia. Appreciating the gigantic power of the working class and the labouring masses generally, he aroused them for the decisive attack on the slave, feudal and capitalist order of things which fettered the peoples of Russia. Lenin did this not only for the sake of the freedom and happiness of the peoples of our country. He knew that it would benefit the peoples of other countries.

The Great October Revolution ushered in a new era in the life of mankind. As Jawaharlal Nehru says in his book, *The Discovery of India*: "The Soviet revolution had advanced human society by a great leap and had lit a bright flame which could not be smothered. (*Applause.*) It had laid the foundations for that 'new civilization' toward which the world would advance." We fully agree with these words.

It has been said that there was much unnecessary sacrifice of life in that revolution. But that is not true. The October Socialist Revolution was the most bloodless of the great revolutions. (*Applause.*) Having taken the power into its own hands, the working class did not blindly punish those who had wronged and oppressed it for ages. More, in the first months after the October Revolution, it released on their word of honour many reactionary tsarist generals, who then perfidiously broke their pledges and took up the sword against their people. The Soviet republic needed peace, and Lenin and the workers' and peasants' government proclaimed peace.

But a bloody struggle was forced upon us. It was not of our choosing. After all, it is not propaganda but an historical fact that the armies of the French, British, American, Japanese and other invaders, armed to the teeth, were hurled against Soviet Russia.

The war thus imposed on us caused incalculable losses. But, I repeat, it was not we that chose it. We were attacked, they sought to strangle the Soviet state, to tear our country to pieces.

And, is it not to the credit of Lenin, to the credit of the Communist Party, to the credit of all our people, that we did not bow our heads and capitulate to the superior forces of an enemy armed to the teeth? The working class and all the peoples of our multi-national country rallied around their collective leader, the Communist Party, and rose in a sacred patriotic war. The enemy was shattered, and the Soviet state firmly established itself as the mighty power of the liberated peoples. (*Applause.*)

Having won the longed-for peace, the Soviet people, with inexhaustible energy, addressed themselves to the peaceful reconstruction of their country, in which they achieved outstanding success. Engaged in peaceful labours, we knew that the forces of reaction had not quietened down. Fearing

the very existence of the Soviet country, where the people enjoy the fruits of their labour, our enemies let loose against our country the mad dog of Hitler fascism. How the fascist invasion ended is well known. Nazism, that formidable menace to free mankind, was crushed, and Hitler has long since mouldered in his grave.

The Second World War caused tremendous damage to our country. Here, too, the Soviet people, inspired by the Communist Party, did not retreat in face of the difficulties. They have fully repaired the ravages of the war. And now, with unparalleled energy, the people are building new mills and factories, and the biggest hydro-electric stations in the world.

I say this not because I want to foist upon you the Soviet path of development, but in order that you may have a better idea of the difficult path our people have travelled. But it is a noble path, and advancing along it our people have registered tremendous gains and achievements. We have in this period acquired great experience. And if you want in any degree to utilize the experience we have achieved in this or that branch of economy or culture, we shall readily, amicably and disinterestedly share it with you and give you all possible assistance. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Our people are absorbed in a gigantic task of construction. The Soviet Union is now engaged on a programme envisaging a swift advance in all branches of the national economy, in order to promote the economic and cultural progress of the Soviet Union and a continued rise in the living standards of its people.

We are gladdened and inspired only by peaceful work. We strive tirelessly for peace and peaceful relations between countries. It must however be said that we do not always meet with proper response and support from a number of other countries in the work of strengthening peace.

We stand for the fullest development of international trade and cultural intercourse. All the world knows of the Soviet Government's efforts for relaxation of international tension. We stand for peace and for the peaceful co-existence of states, regardless of their internal social systems. This is corroborated by all our country's foreign policy measures.

An important international event was the Conference of the Four Heads of Government in Geneva, which resulted in a certain easing of international tension. In pursuance of the Directives of the Four Heads of Government, a conference of the Foreign Ministers of these countries recently took place in Geneva. But it did not achieve any great results, because the Ministers were confronted with very complicated problems which cannot be solved at one conference. We are confident, however, that if we adhere to the course charted by the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government, we shall achieve further relaxation of international tension, and shall move forward step by step to the settlement of all complicated international problems.

We cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are some who cannot stomach the spirit of Geneva. Certain elements in some countries are still trying to carry on the notorious "positions of strength" policy, the policy of holding up the threat of atomic weapons, which is a disgrace to modern civilization.

After the Second World War, the reactionary elements sought to frighten us with the atomic bomb and hold us in subjection. But, as you know, nothing came of this. Soviet scientists discovered the secret of producing atomic energy. (*Applause.*) In order to frustrate the aggressive designs of certain bellicose foreign leaders, we were compelled to manufacture atomic and hydrogen bombs ourselves. But having produced these weapons, we declared there and then that we did not want them ever to be used. The Soviet Union was

the first in the world to place atomic energy at the service of peaceful development. We have made proposals for the prohibition of the production and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and for a solemn undertaking by the governments not to employ these weapons. But so far the Western Powers have not agreed to these proposals.

The forces of reaction are doing all in their power to disrupt peace. But we are convinced that victory will be on the side of the peoples and individuals who desire peace, for peace among the nations is the dream of all progressive men and women. We are glad that in this we have such a fine ally as India. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people and the people of other countries highly appreciate the big contribution made by the Indian people and their Government to the effort for peace, the effort to eliminate the threat of another war. India worked actively for ending the wars in Korea and Indo-China. (*Prolonged applause.*) Despite the obstacles raised, India continues to discharge the difficult, but honourable international duty of supervising observance of the armistice terms in Korea and Viet-Nam.

There are still many complex and unsolved problems in the present-day world. Much effort, perseverance and patience will be required to preserve and consolidate peace, but we have firm faith in the triumph of this noble cause.

Mr. Chairman, Honourable Members,

We may note with satisfaction that the economic and cultural ties between our countries have lately become considerably stronger. (*Prolonged applause.*) There are good prospects for extending mutually beneficial economic relations between the U.S.S.R. and India, and this will help to bring our peoples still closer together. Trade is successfully developing on the basis of the Soviet-Indian Trade Agreement signed in 1953. (*Applause.*) We believe that an

important contribution to the strengthening of our economic ties is the agreement concluded this year, providing for the construction in India, with the help of the Soviet Union, of an iron and steel works which will produce a million tons of steel annually. (*Applause.*) Soviet workers and engineers have undertaken with great enthusiasm the fulfilment of the orders connected with this project. We attach great importance to personal contact between leaders of the Republic of India and the Soviet Union. The visit of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, to the Soviet Union has left a deep impression on the minds of the Soviet people. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Soviet people display tremendous interest in India's rich and ancient culture. Many works by Indian writers have been translated into Russian. The splendid productions of India's great writer and public figure, Rabindranath Tagore, enjoy great popularity in our country. (*Applause.*) Books by modern Indian writers are read with unflagging interest by our people. (*Prolonged applause.*) In the period of Soviet rule, Indian literary works have been published in the Soviet Union in a total of more than two million copies. (*Applause.*) Russian translations have been made of the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, who had such a thorough knowledge of his country and its great people, and who played such a big part in your history. (*Prolonged applause.*) *The Discovery of India*, the book by the distinguished statesman and political leader, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, has been published in a large edition. (*Applause.*)

We stand for all-round and broad exchange in the sphere of culture and art, and for exchange of technical and scientific achievements. The Soviet people are always glad to see Indian friends in their country. (*Applause.*) The better we know each other and help each other, the firmer will

be our friendship, and the stronger will be the forces of peace throughout the world. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Allow me to thank you for the warm and friendly welcome you and your hospitable people have accorded our delegation. From the bottom of our hearts, we wish the friendly people of India happiness and prosperity. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the great people of India! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

**VISIT
OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
TO THE BHAKRA-NANGAL
CONSTRUCTION PROJECT**

November 22

On their arrival in Bhakra, N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov inspected the construction of the dam and acquainted themselves with the project of the entire Bhakra-Nangal system.

After the inspection of the dam construction site, C. P. N. Singh, Governor of the State of Punjab, gave a luncheon in honour of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov.

In the course of the luncheon the Governor made a brief speech of welcome to N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov, in which he said: "We are very glad to have you visit the State of Punjab. The warm welcome and hospitality shown you by the people of Punjab are an expression of the sincere, friendly feelings of the entire Indian people for the people of the Soviet Union. The construction project you have seen today symbolizes everything we should like to do in our country. We should like your help in this great work. We could draw a great deal from your experience."

In his speech of reply N. A. Bulganin expressed deep gratitude for the warm welcome and hospitality accorded them. He noted that the hospitality of the Punjabis was a stirring demonstration of the friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union. "The attitude of the Punjabis towards us," he continued, "deeply moved us and carried us,

in our mind's eye, home, where we should like to tell the Soviet people how affectionately we are being welcomed in India. Our two countries are separated by high mountains, by vast expanses, but our friendship knows no barriers. It is not hindered either by the mountains or the expanses." (*Applause.*) To a fresh outburst of applause N.A. Bulganin said in Hindi, "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'il*" (Indians and Russians are brothers!) Emphasizing that he and N. S. Khrushchov had been particularly pleased by their inspection of the Bhakra-Nangal construction project that day, N.A. Bulganin proposed a toast to the great people of India and to Soviet-Indian friendship.

N. S. Khrushchov then made a short speech.

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

"Friends,

"We have already been a number of days in your remarkable country. Indeed, we have had so many interesting impressions and meetings that I have lost count of the days. We have met a great number of people. We have seen many of the fine things created by the people of India. (*Applause.*) We have had the opportunity of seeing both ancient temples and projects under construction. But the most valuable thing of all for us is the friendship shown us everywhere. (*Applause.*)

"Your Prime Minister Nehru visited us not long ago and he was given a warm welcome. We, in the Soviet Union, have a very high opinion of him, and the reason for our high opinion is that he realizes the importance of friendship between our countries and of our common struggle to strengthen peace and friendship among nations.

"We have different political outlooks, you have your outlooks and your philosophy, we have ours. What is the use of finding out now what points we differ on? The im-

portant thing is to see that we are at one on the main thing (*applause*), the question of war and peace. This is a question on which no man can be indifferent. No honest person can help wishing for peace and fighting for it. (*Applause.*) And we are looking for friends in the struggle for peace, no matter how great or small the states they belong to, no matter what their political outlooks, races or creeds may be. The important thing is that there should be a common desire to strengthen peace. It is each country's domestic affair what system of government it has. And political views are each man's own concern. That is why we ask others not to interfere in our internal affairs and do not allow ourselves to interfere in anybody else's. (*Applause.*)

"The Five Principles of peaceful co-existence proclaimed by Prime Minister Nehru and our friend Chou En-lai satisfy us completely. (*Applause.*) We confirmed this in the Statement which Mr. Nehru signed with us when he was in Moscow.

"As for problems of political structure, our views are quite definite and clear-cut, but we have no intention of imposing them on others. Economic construction and technology are another matter, they are international problems.

"Nikolai Alexandrovich was right when he said here that it was a pleasure for us to see the power station construction shown to us today. It was a greater pleasure to see the men, their eager eyes and the enthusiasm with which they work.

"We were particularly glad that it was the building of a power station that our friends showed us. This is a fight against the elements, a fight to harness nature and to make it serve man. To accomplish this task is especially important to the Indian people who have been lagging behind economically not through their own fault, but through the fault of others; I am not going to be more explicit, you know who it is that I mean and they will know themselves. (*Applause.*)

"We have said already that we are willing to share our experience in peaceful construction with you. But some newspapers, voicing the views of those who are displeased by our trip to India, have been saying that Khrushchov and Bulganin are cunning and can deceive India with their promises of technical aid, and that the Indians would do well to be on their guard. (*Laughter.*)

"Here is what we say to those who write such things: perhaps you want to compete with us in friendship with the Indians? All right, we agree. (*Applause.*) What have we come here with? We have come to you with open hearts (*applause*), and honest intentions. (*Applause.*) We say to you: You want to build industrial establishments? We are glad to hear it. Perhaps you have not enough experience? Ask us, we will help you. (*Applause.*) You want to build power stations? If the task is new to you or if you want technical assistance, ask us, we will help you. (*Applause.*) You want to send your students and engineers to us for training? Do so, by all means. (*Applause.*)

"Well, that's our 'cunning'—see that we don't deceive you now, as some people are writing. (*Laughter, applause.*) We should very much like other countries to show the same 'cunning.' It is better to compete in this field than in the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs. (*Stormy applause.*) This is a nobler occupation.

"We are not at all worried by the scribblings and broadcasts of people who want to set us at loggerheads. They talk, write, and broadcast speeches, but it all goes in at one ear and out at the other. (*Applause.*) People are now in the habit of judging by deeds rather than by words. (*Applause.*) And when we meet Indians, although we do not know their language, we read friendship in their eyes." (*Applause.*)

N. S. Khrushchov closed his speech with a toast to firmer

Indo-Soviet friendship and the health of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru.

Then the Maharaja of Patiala presented gifts to N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov—two ancient sabres with silver and gold design. "May these swords serve peace," the Maharaja said. N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov thanked the Maharaja for the precious gift and handed him presents made by Soviet handicraftsmen.

Thanking the Maharaja for the gift, N. S. Khrushchov said: "I shall treasure this gift as a symbolic souvenir of friendship. Here is what I thought as I looked at this splendid sword: When a baby is born, we Soviet people say, it needs good care. If it is left without care, defenceless, unlooked after, it will die. It must be cared for and defended until it is able to defend itself. I like the way you look after trees. When they are small you carefully fence them off so that the wind will not break them, or a careless foot tread upon them. Once the tree has grown up it needs no more fencing. A tall and strong tree fears neither wind nor storm. That is true of a state too. Our state came into being 38 years ago. It was still weak, and could hardly keep on its legs, and then fourteen countries fell upon it all at once. The British took up arms against us. I hope the British journalists here present will excuse me. But you cannot get away from it, it is an historical fact. The Americans, the French and the Japanese crusaded against us. What were we to do? Sit back with folded arms? That is not what our people did. They unsheathed their swords and rose to defend their new-born state. We fought well. We drove out the invaders and said to them: Don't try war on us again. There was a Russian prince who said a long, long time ago: He who comes to us with a sword shall perish by the sword. That is the rule we keep to now. We welcome guests and treat them well. But anybody wishing to come to us with a

sword, as an enemy, would do well to remember what happened to Hitler; the same will happen to any enemy. (Applause.)

"I do not want to give you any advice, but I cannot refrain from the question: how long was India under the sway of colonialists? For centuries. You are determined, of course, to maintain your freedom and independence. I will tell you what I know from our own experience: there are some who look at us with envious eyes and wonder how they could smash us. We, of course, should like our bombs and shells to remain unused for ever. We would prefer to produce tractors and other useful things. But what would happen to us if we were disarmed? We would certainly be torn to pieces, and then our grandsons would say: Lenin was a great man who properly understood the interests of the people. Under his leadership Soviet rule was established and the Soviet State created, but posterity failed to uphold their freedom and independence. We are upholding our freedom as a sacred thing so that this may never happen. We cannot do without it. You, too, must guard what you have won in a hard struggle.

"That is what we sincerely wish you." (Applause.)

N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV IN BOMBAY

SPEECH OF WELCOME BY M. DESAI, CHIEF MINISTER OF STATE OF BOMBAY, AT AIRFIELD

November 23

Your Excellencies, we are very happy to welcome you to the city of Bombay. In the short time you have been in India you have visited our capital and some of the other interesting places in our country. Now you have arrived in Bombay. Bombay is a city where one can meet people from all the provinces of India and from various countries of the world. Your visit to this universally known city is a tremendous joy for the citizens of Bombay.

Our Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, recently visited your great country. The peoples of India and Russia used the opportunity which that visit provided to establish closer contact. Your visit to India will further promote the friendly relations between our two countries.

India has always believed in the ideals of peace and rejected the use of force. The father of our state, Mahatma Gandhi, enjoined us to maintain friendship with all the nations of the world. The nations desirous of establishing peace throughout the world have expressed their faith in the Five Principles, *Panch Shila*; your great and powerful nation is one of them.

The people of India believe that peace and understanding among nations will ensure progress for all of us, and then there will be no place for destruction. We believe that friendship between India and Russia will substantially promote

the creation of friendly ties among the various countries of the world and will ensure the welfare of mankind. I hope that this will bring us to an era of peace, to prosperity the world over. Once again I welcome you, from the bottom of my heart, to the city of Bombay.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Dear friends,

We heartily thank you for your friendly and warm reception. Nikita Sergeyevich and I, and all the friends who have come with us are happy to greet the citizens of the glorious city of Bombay.

We are well familiar with the history of your remarkable city where the beginning was laid for the organized movement of the Indian people to regain their national independence. Your city is known as a world transport and industrial centre, as a centre of national culture and science.

We know very well what an important part your remarkable city is playing in the economic and cultural development of the Republic. That is why we are especially glad to visit the glorious city of Bombay, to make the acquaintance of its inhabitants and to learn of their achievements in the economic, cultural and scientific fields.

We are very glad to be able to convey, in person, friendly, ardent greetings from the peoples of the Soviet Union to the residents of Bombay.

Once again we thank you, dear friends, for your warm and friendly welcome.

(N. A. Bulganin's words were greeted with stormy applause.)

RALLY AT PATEL STADIUM IN BOMBAY

November 23

The rally was opened by N. Pupala, Mayor of Bombay, who, on behalf of the citizens of Bombay, read an address of welcome to the Soviet guests.

ADDRESS OF MAYOR OF BOMBAY

Your Excellencies,

On behalf of the citizens we, the members of the municipal corporation of Greater Bombay, convey our heartfelt greetings to you. We are glad that you are with us and that we have the opportunity to convey, through you, our best wishes to the peoples of Russia. We assure you that we shall remember you a long time. We welcome you as representatives of a great nation whose resolute struggle we have admired throughout four decades. Your country has won many splendid battles against foreign aggression. Your emergence into the world arena as a great power is truly an event of immense importance. It is perfectly clear that a nation which has experienced so much should strive to follow the paths of peace. Russia's adherence to the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence formulated by our Prime Minister Nehru on the basis of Indian experience has created a highly favourable international atmosphere for successful co-existence. Since the consolidation of India's freedom the bonds of friendship between our countries have grown stronger. We saw how heartily the people of Russia welcomed our Prime Minister when

he visited that country. We hope that your visit to India will bring our countries still closer together to their mutual benefit. We honour Your Excellencies as worthy leaders and faithful servants of your people. You, Mr. Bulganin, have risen to a high post thanks to your outstanding qualities and devotion to your country. You have had a long and distinguished career. Having begun it at the age of 22, in the period of the revolutionary movement, you have played an outstanding role in your country's development. The fact that you were Mayor of Moscow from 1931 until 1938 is particularly gratifying to our corporation, for it establishes bonds of kinship between our two cities. You rendered outstanding services to your country in the difficult years of the Second World War. In March 1947 you were appointed Minister of the Armed Forces of the U.S.S.R. and Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.; in March 1953 you were appointed First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Minister of Defence of the Soviet Union. Your country has conferred on you the title of Hero of Socialist Labour and decorated you with the Orders of the Red Banner, Suvorov, Kutuzov, and the Red Star. Your election as Chairman of the Council of Ministers by the session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on February 8, 1955, marks the highest point in your distinguished career and testifies to the trust which the people of Russia place in you.

Our city greets you, Mr. Khrushchov, as another outstanding Soviet leader. Born into a working-class family, you have devoted your energies to a great cause and have earned the trust, respect and admiration of your people. You began your career as a worker in a mine in the Donbas, and you fought heroically on the Southern Front during the Civil War. Since then you have done a great deal of important and responsible work for your country. During the

Second World War you were a member of the Military Council of the Kiev Area. In 1952 you were elected a member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Secretary of that Committee. Today you are one of the most experienced and respected members of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Your grateful country has rewarded you with high honours: Orders of Lenin, Orders of Suvorov, the Order of the Red Banner of Labour; on your 60th birthday, in April 1954, it conferred on you the title of Hero of Socialist Labour.

I hope you have a pleasant stay in our city and in our country. We also hope that your visit will still further strengthen our common determination to fight for peace and the happiness of mankind.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Mr. Mayor,
Dear friends,

Allow me on my own behalf, on behalf of Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and the friends who have come with us to India, and on behalf of the many millions of Soviet people to convey ardent greetings to you. Our hearty thanks to you, the many thousands of citizens of this wonderful city who have come here to express their friendly feelings of love to the representatives of the Soviet people. Such a welcome is striking evidence of the fact that in your great city the Soviet Union has many good friends who appreciate the friendship between our peoples. (*Stormy applause.*)

The name of the city of Bombay is well known to Soviet men and women. We know it as a big modern city, as a major industrial centre, as an important seat of science and culture, and, lastly, as one of the world's biggest ports. The

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glory of Bombay throughout many generations has been created by the intensive labour of the ordinary Indian working men. It is they who have built its factories and mills, railways, beautiful edifices. It is they who have worked and are working at industrial establishments producing goods generally known beyond the bounds of India.

Bombay is one of the centres of the creative endeavours of the Indian people, their national pride. Here the Indian people have demonstrated with special clarity that they, like other peoples of Asia, are successfully mastering the highest achievements of world culture and science, are building up a modern industry and developing modern means of communication.

Your city played a considerable part in the Indian national liberation movement which enabled India to rid herself of colonial oppression and gain long-awaited freedom. The Soviet people always followed that struggle of the Indian people with great attention and sympathy. As early as 1908 Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, our leader and the founder of our socialist state, uttered prophetic words about the inevitable crash of the colonial regime in India. His remarkable words have come true.

India is now an independent country. Her people are in a position to shape their destiny as they wish. The significance of this goes far beyond the bounds of India. It reflects the great changes now taking place in Asia, where the colonial regimes forced on the peoples from outside are collapsing. We are glad to observe the great constructive work in which the Indian people are engaged. You have set yourselves a very important aim, namely, to make your country economically independent.

Our Soviet people know from their own experience how tremendously important it is to achieve that aim. The Soviet Union fully sympathizes with the legitimate desire

of the people of India to gain economic independence and is prepared to co-operate with India in the sphere of economic development. We are in favour of expanding economic intercourse with India, of extending trade between our countries, of exchanging scientific and technical achievements, and of constructive and mutually beneficial co-operation.

In its foreign policy the Government of the U.S.S.R. invariably follows the principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems which was put forward by the great Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is a policy of further relaxing world tension, promoting confidence among states in the interests of adjusting and settling international problems through negotiations, and ensuring universal security and a firm and lasting peace. The Soviet Union actively advocates broad international co-operation, the expansion of economic, scientific, technical and cultural contacts between all countries whatever their social systems.

The Soviet people are deeply satisfied to note that the peoples of India are in the vanguard of the champions of peaceful co-existence. It was India which first proclaimed the *Panch Shila*, the Five Principles of peaceful co-operation among countries. (*Stormy applause.*) One cannot fail to pay particular tribute in this connection to the outstanding role of that distinguished political leader, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, whose name is closely associated with the struggle of the peoples for peace, for translating into life the principles of peaceful co-existence among nations. The Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, is quite right in pointing out that co-existence is the only wise possibility for all countries, for the only other alternative would be mutual annihilation. In this connection I wish to say that the Government of the U.S.S.R. deeply

respects the position of the Government of India, which has come out for the reduction of armaments, the prohibition of atomic weapons, the removal of the threat of another war and the settlement of all international problems through negotiations, and against the formation of aggressive military blocs. The Soviet people are well aware of the Indian Government's efforts to achieve a further easing of world tension and a strengthening of peace.

The Soviet people welcome India's contribution to peace and to the settlement of the outstanding problems of Asia. It was through the combined efforts of the People's Republic of China, India and the Soviet Union that the wars in Korea and Indo-China were ended. (*Stormy applause.*) The Soviet Union and India are working jointly for the People's Republic of China to be granted its rightful seat in the United Nations. The Government of India advocates a peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question with due regard for the national interests of the Chinese people. India was one of the sponsors of the first Asian and African conference in Bandung, which is of outstanding significance for strengthening world peace and guaranteeing the rights and interests of the peoples of Asia and Africa.

The fact that the interests of the Soviet Union and India in preserving and strengthening world peace coincide predetermines the friendly co-operation of our countries on many international problems. This is in line with our common interest in providing the necessary conditions for the prosperity of our countries.

We have something to learn from each other in the field of science. Indian science has an ancient history. It has given the world a number of eminent scientists whose discoveries have enriched world science and culture. Your science maintains these good traditions today, too.

Many foreign scientists come to the Soviet Union. Scien-

tists of your city, which is one of the country's leading scientific centres, have also visited us.

We believe that our Soviet scientists, on their part, can learn many useful things in India. Such exchange of scientific achievements and scientific co-operation are very useful both for your scientists and for ours.

Living and working in your city, which is one of the leading cultural centres, are, for instance, many well-known writers and workers in the arts who are known and loved in the Soviet Union. Bombay is the centre of India's film industry. Several Indian films made in Bombay have been shown in the Soviet Union. Soviet audiences liked them very much. This fact alone shows what an important role your city can play in promoting cultural interchange between our countries, for which we have vast and as yet unused opportunities. This interchange will contribute to still closer friendship between our countries, our peoples.

In conclusion, allow me to wish success to your city and state, to your great people. That is the wish of the entire Soviet people, who love and value their Indian friends. (*Applause.*) It is with attention and joy that the Soviet people are following the Indian people's battle for peace and their efforts in building a new life, and the friendship of our great peoples is a firm bulwark of world peace. Let us, then, preserve and strengthen this great friendship. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the friendship of the Indian and Soviet peoples! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Ladies and gentlemen, friends,

Allow me to express from this rostrum my sincere gratitude to Prime Minister Nehru, the leaders of the State of Bombay and the Mayor of the city of Bombay for the hos-

pitality they have accorded us. (*Applause.*) Allow me to thank all of you who have come here to meet us. Allow me to thank also all the citizens of Bombay who came out today to welcome us and who, I saw it in their eyes, were so sincere in expressing their sentiments towards us, towards the Soviet Union, towards our people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Words cannot express the warm feelings with which our hearts overflow in these days of friendly meetings with the Indian people. (*Applause.*)

We rejoice at your initial successes and we wish you still greater successes. We are glad that the peoples of India have freed themselves and acquired national independence. (*Applause.*)

There is deep and thoroughgoing understanding between us. We are fighting together for peace. (*Stormy applause.*) I should like to say a few words in this connection about what the Soviet people understand by fighting for peace. (*Applause.*)

If you ask anybody in the world today whether he is for peace or for war, he will certainly say he is for peace! (*Applause.*) Even he who is for war at heart will not say it openly. He would prefer to declare that he stands for peace. He knows that the peoples do not want war and that it is dangerous to speak up openly for war. (*Applause.*)

Some of those who now say that they, too, stand for peace would certainly not be averse to achieving without war the aims they set themselves. What they would like to have is a peace in which some peoples submitted to others. But that is not what the peoples want. This is the crux of the matter and the key to all the differences.

You know that the Heads of Government of the Four Powers met at Geneva and that later the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers met there. Much effort was made to achieve agreement but the results are very small so far. That

is because we understand the same words to mean different things.

As for the Soviet people, our understanding is clear and understandable to all. We say: peace for all the peoples of the world! (*Stormy applause.*) We say: there should be no interference in the internal arrangements of other states and peoples. (*Stormy applause.*) That is the main thing.

We are working for these principles which have been set out so very well in the Statement proclaimed by India and China and known to all. (*Applause.*)

Like all Soviet men and women, I am certain that truth will prevail, that peace will prevail. (*Stormy applause.*) But we must exert all our efforts towards that. We must not slacken our perseverance, we must not relax our efforts in working for world peace. (*Applause.*)

Ladies and gentlemen, friends, we live in happy times. This is the spring-time of mankind, when colonial slavery is crumbling and there is no return to the past.

We are travelling now through the cities and villages of India, and meeting the Indian people. We see how brightly sparkle the eyes of the free men who have won their country's independence and who want to be the masters of their state, of their destinies.

This outstanding fact is appraised in different ways. As for the peoples of the Soviet Union, they sincerely welcome those successes. We rejoice that the peoples of great China won a great historic victory, cast off for ever the yoke of the imperialists and are building their great people's state. We rejoice that the peoples of great India have won national independence. All the peoples of Asia and Africa are now rising to fight against colonial slavery. That is an ocean wave which nothing can block! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

The peoples of the Soviet Union stretch out a hand of

fraternal and everlasting friendship to the peoples of India.
(*Prolonged applause.*)

Our stand has been, and is, that the internal structure of states should be a matter for the peoples themselves to decide. We do not interfere, nor shall we ever interfere, in anybody else's affairs. You and we have very many interests in common on which there is complete understanding between us. On the basis of this understanding, on the basis of mutual respect, we should cement our friendship for the sake of world peace.

As we visit Indian towns and villages these days I often hear fine words with which I agree entirely. And it is with these words that I would like to close my speech today: "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'i!*" (Indians and Russians are brothers!) (*The concluding words of N. S. Khrushchov aroused prolonged, stormy applause.*)

**SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN
AT RECEPTION GIVEN BY M. DESAI,
CHIEF MINISTER OF THE STATE
OF BOMBAY**

November 24

Mr. Chief Minister, Members of the Bombay State Legislative Assembly,

First of all I should like to express my gratitude for your hospitality. Allow me to express personally and on behalf of Comrade Khrushchov and the friends who have come with us, our sincere gratitude for the warm—nay, I would say more than warm—for your friendly welcome, for a welcome usually accorded only to one's closest friends. (*Applause.*)

We have been instructed by the Soviet Government, and this instruction reflects the will of the entire Soviet people, to convey to the Indian people the Soviet people's warmest and fondest regards. (*Applause.*)

We do not doubt that our visit to the Republic of India will still further consolidate the friendship of our two peoples—the great Indian people and the great Soviet people. (*Applause.*) Both the Soviet people and the Indians desire peace, want to live in tranquillity and to work fruitfully for the happiness of the future generations. The stronger our friendship is, the more enduring will peace be, the greater will be the hope of a lasting peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

You and we are people of the 20th century and there is one very happy thing we have in common: we live in an age

in which the consciousness of the peoples has grown immeasurably, in which they are taking their destiny into their own hands and starting to build a new life, guided by the teachings of the men whom they look up to as their teachers.

You had an outstanding leader who did much for your country. I am speaking of Mahatma Gandhi, who is held in high esteem in your country as a glorious patriot and friend of the people. We pay due tribute to his memory and to the work of his successor, Jawaharlal Nehru. (*Applause.*)

We, Soviet people, are guided by the teachings of the great Lenin who showed us and all the other peoples the way to freedom, independence and happiness.

We, Lenin's pupils, do not share Gandhi's philosophical views, but we consider him an outstanding leader who did much for the development of a peace-loving attitude in your people and for their struggle for independence.

It was only after our people had freed themselves from capitalist oppression that they were able to embark on the building of a free and independent country and improving their welfare. It was only after India had gained her independence that new possibilities and new prospects opened up for her development.

The peoples inhabiting this globe are all striving for peace and are fully resolved to ensure that the future generations may work and live in tranquillity and happiness. But let us not speak now of the tasks facing all the peoples. Let us speak only of the task facing our two peoples: the great Indian people and the great Soviet people. Let us then say:

Long live lasting peace between our peoples! Long live enduring and indestructible friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples! (*Stormy applause.*)

RECEPTION IN THE INDO-SOVIET CULTURAL SOCIETY

November 24

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Friends, allow me first of all to thank you for the cordial and ardent welcome you have given us.

It was not without emotion that we approached the borders of your country. It was not without emotion that we set foot on Indian soil, in your admirable city of Delhi, the capital of your country.

We have come here to acquaint ourselves with your country, with your people, with you.

Having been several days in your country, I must say that at our meetings with the Indian people, with their representatives and with the Indian authorities, and at this meeting with you today we have been deeply stirred by the cordiality and friendship shown us. We feel here as if we were at home, among close friends. (*Stormy applause.*)

Today we are the guests of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society. The very name of your society speaks of its aims and objects.

In recent years quite a number of delegations and individual representatives of the great people of India have been to the Soviet Union. Many people from the Soviet Union have been to India.

The Soviet Union has received visits from Indian scientists, writers, many public figures, cinema workers, actors

and producers. Many of them are now very, very popular among the Soviet people. We have seen many here with whom we are personally acquainted. (*Applause.*)

We are happy to be at this meeting. We address our gratitude today to the respected President of your society, Dr. Baliga, who directs its activities. We are also grateful to the Governor of Bombay State, Mr. Mehtab, for making it possible for us to be present here at this wonderful gathering.

I propose a toast to the continued expansion of the activities of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society. I drink to the health of its President, Dr. Baliga, and to the health of the Governor of Bombay State, Mr. Mehtab.

Long live Indo-Soviet friendship! (*Prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Friends, I permit myself to call you friends because we are here at a meeting of a society whose object it is to promote and strengthen friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

Like my friend Bulganin, I want to thank the President of your society, Dr. Baliga, and the Governor of Bombay State, Mr. Mehtab, who is assisting the work of your society and who has graciously invited us to your fine city. (*Applause.*)

I also address my thanks to the Chief Minister of your State, Mr. Desai. (*Prolonged applause.*) I thank you all for coming here to meet us. (*Applause.*)

Sometimes, when beginning a speech, you involuntarily feel excited, until you get down to your subject and can smoothly develop your speech. (*Animation and applause.*) It seems to me that on this occasion a very good subject would be friendship between nations. There are different kinds of friendship. There is the friendship of people who

are close companions, and there is the "friendship" of people who are neighbours but are not on visiting terms. (*Laughter and applause.*) So it is with countries. Between some of them there is no real friendship, but they live on one planet, and whether they like it or not they have to get on together.

That is the kind of relationship which our great Lenin called co-existence. The principle of co-existence is a very important principle. But there are people who ask: is co-existence possible? One would think that there cannot be any such question, since states co-exist in practice. (*Animation.*) But the question is asked all the same.

What I want to say is this. The birth of a child depends on the parents. But the day and hour it is born does not depend on them, nor whether it will be the kind of child they would like it to be. (*Animation.*) How is it possible to halt the development of history, to prevent the birth of new social forms? Just as the sun rises every morning, so obsolete social forms are supplanted by new and more progressive ones. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Well, that is how our Soviet state was born. It was the first proletarian state, the first workers' and peasants' state in the world. (*Applause.*) The appearance of this state was greeted by all other states without the ringing of bells. (*Animation.*)

Since the old, tsarist system in Russia was rotten through and through, the October Revolution was almost bloodless. But then they came along and said to us—not in so many words, of course, and without a protocol—but by their actions: How's this? Who authorized the Soviet state to appear? By what right have the workers and peasants taken the power into their own hands? (*Animation.*)

They not only said this, but hurled their armies against the young Soviet state. The French interventionists landed

in Odessa, the British in Arkhangelsk, the American in Vladivostok, and the Japanese followed suit.

Everybody knows what came of this. The Soviet people swept out the invading forces, as a good housewife sweeps the dust out of her cottage. (*Animation and stormy applause.*) But this did not seem enough to some gentry. They wanted a repetition, and instigated the Second World War. They hurled the big armed forces of Hitler Germany against the U.S.S.R.

How this ended is also known to all. Again the Soviet Union defeated its enemies. But far from being weakened by the war, the U.S.S.R. acquired even greater strength. (*Applause.*) Now the Soviet people have healed the wounds of the war, repaired their shattered economy, successfully fulfilled their first postwar five-year plan, and are now on the point of fulfilling their second postwar five-year plan. Our country is rapidly developing and blossoming luxuriantly.

I remember the early days of the October Revolution, and the years of the Civil War, when only Lenin clearly foresaw our future development and how powerful the newborn Soviet state would become.

An absolute majority of those present here are members of the intelligentsia. I should therefore like to tell you how the revolution was greeted at that time by the intelligentsia of Russia. Many intellectuals welcomed the revolution and honestly began to serve the young Soviet state. But some of them argued as follows. What is going to happen? Lenin and the Communists have summoned the workers and peasants to rule the country. The guidance of the country is in the hands of illiterate workers and still more illiterate peasants. What will become of Russian culture? Who will be the connoisseurs of Russian art? Presumably, there will be no more Russian ballet, which was world-famous even

before the revolution. Presumably, there will be no more opera, which was also on a high level before the revolution. Presumably, the other arts will likewise go under. There will be no real connoisseurs!

But developments belied these misgivings. Soviet culture is much superior to the culture of the old Russia. Many of you have been to the Soviet Union in late years. You have seen with your own eyes that art in the Soviet Union is more highly appreciated than it ever was before the revolution. The workers and peasants singled out the finest among their number and sent them to university and college, and, what is more, they themselves at the bench acquired culture.

We are proud of this.

Whether our ill-wishers like it or not, the Soviet Union exists. And not only does it exist; it is successfully growing and developing. Our economy is expanding, our culture is progressing, the living standards of our people are rising.

And all this at a time when we are compelled to reckon with the existence of hostile forces who have still not given up the idea of strangling our country. We are obliged to spend quite considerable funds on national defence. If we could divert the funds now spent on armaments to peaceful purposes, the living standards of our people would be even higher.

This our ill-wishers realize. And that is why certain political leaders abroad are afraid to talk seriously of disarmament, and do not want to put an end to international tension. They are afraid we might use the funds now spent on defence for peaceful construction.

But despite this, we are confident that, even as things are now, in peaceful competition between the capitalist and socialist systems, it is we, socialism, that will win. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I happened to say this publicly at one of the receptions in the Kremlin. The bourgeois correspondents blazoned it

around the world that Khrushchov had been "incautious" and let out that the Bolsheviks had not abandoned their political plans. No, I was not incautious and did not let out anything, but said what we think and what we confidently believe. We have never abandoned, and never will abandon, our political line, which was mapped by Lenin; we have never abandoned, and never will abandon, our political programme. (*Prolonged applause.*)

As our proverb has it: you don't leave a good life to look for a bad one! (*Animation.*)

Why should we abandon that which has led our country from age-old backwardness to the level of the industrially and economically most advanced and developed countries? Why? What have we to gain by abandoning it?

And so we say to the gentry who are expecting the Soviet Union to change its political programme: "Wait until the crab whistles!" And you know when the crab whistles. (*Animation.*)

Hence, there is only one possibility—co-existence. Co-existence of the two systems. Co-existence of the socialist and capitalist systems.

I, personally, dislike very much the capitalist system. (*Applause.*) I speak of co-existence not because I want capitalism to exist, but because I cannot help recognizing that this system does exist. (*Animation.*)

But the other side refuses to reconcile itself to the existence of the socialist system, though it is not only we that have built a socialist state; many other countries have embarked on the same path. Socialism is being built by our close friend, the great Chinese people—and that is a state which, as the saying goes, you cannot step over without noticing. Socialism is being built by a whole number of European and Asian countries, which stand shoulder to shoulder with the Soviet Union.

The Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, has said that India will also follow the socialist path. (*Stormy applause.*) That is good. Of course, our conceptions of socialism differ. But we welcome this statement and this intention.

And so, the socialist system exists, and does not ask anybody's permission to do so. (*Animation and applause.*) We not only exist, but can well defend our existence.

If we had confined ourselves to pleading for co-existence, we should have been crushed long ago.

Our enemies might like very much to see the end of us, but that is not in their power. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Hence, like it or not, love it or not, the socialist and capitalist states have to live together on one planet.

We say to the capitalist countries: If you don't like us, don't have us as your guests, but we will exist all the same. Such is the situation in the present-day world.

We want such co-existence as will facilitate normal development of relations between all states. We want, in particular, to trade with all countries. Let them buy from us, and we shall buy from them.

Just now they are trying to practise trade discrimination against us, and do not want to trade with us in important items. But our country is developing and growing stronger all the same. And between you and me, their discrimination has only induced us to bend our efforts to produce those items which the capitalists are unwilling to sell us. We now produce these items ourselves, and are moving ever onward. Consequently, the trade discrimination policy has not harmed, but even benefited us.

We stand for broader cultural intercourse between countries. We want more people from the capitalist countries to come to us, and more of our people to go to these countries.

We have been accused of erecting an "iron curtain." But only this year a large number of U.S. senators have visited

the U.S.S.R., and quite a number of American scientists and press representatives, also American and British farmers, and American war veterans.

We do not refuse visas to those who wish to visit our country.

You are probably acquainted with the biblical legend about Noah's ark. When Noah gathered the beasts into his ark, he took of those that were clean by seven pairs and of those that were not clean by two pairs. Well, I can tell you it was mostly the unclean that came to our country, but we received them without fear. (*Animation.*)

The way we looked at it was, suppose an unclean one does come—he won't dirty us.

Hence, if international cultural intercourse is not developing as fast as one would like, we are not to blame.

These are a few aspects of the question of peaceful co-existence. I think that if a classical example of co-existence is needed, it is provided by our relations with India. Not only do we co-exist; we are friends, despite our different political views on a number of questions. The basis of this friendship is our common effort for peace. We must therefore not relax this effort. Let us continue to break down everything that stands in the way of peaceful co-existence. Let us promote everything that facilitates the development of peaceful co-existence of states.

We have had a small, perhaps microscopic, success in this respect as a result of the Geneva meetings. The Four Power Foreign Ministers Conference has just ended. It did not produce the results that might have been expected. But we are not particularly discouraged. Evidently, the time had not yet come. The question was not ripe for decision. And our partners had not given up the idea of negotiating from so-called "positions of strength."

I must again frankly warn that anyone who tries to speak to us from "positions of strength" will get nowhere.

Well, it looks as if we shall have to wait for the settlement of the questions which were brought before Geneva. Well, we are prepared to wait. The wind, as they say, is not blowing in our faces. We shall wait for fairer weather. We shall wait until these questions can be settled in the interest of the people.

When I was already in India, I read the speeches of a number of statesmen assessing the results of the Geneva Conference. I am glad that the statements of the participants in the conference were restrained. This presumably indicates that they did not want just now to give rein to passions that would aggravate international tension.

I am concluding. There must be co-existence. We do not demand it or request it; we really exist, just as capitalist states really exist. Nobody can transplant us to Mars—what is more, the scientists have not discovered the means of doing so. Presumably, the capitalist states do not want to transplant themselves to Mars either. (*Animation.*) Consequently, we have to live on one planet. And living means co-existing.

That being so, the task is to prevent the aggressive forces from unleashing another war.

The work of your society furthers the solution of the problem of peaceful co-existence. The better we know each other, the closer we co-operate, the more we help each other, the stronger will be the forces of peace, and this will act as a restraint on the aggressive forces. Aggressors, you know, cannot be weaned from aggressiveness, they can only be restrained by active efforts, by an active struggle of the peoples for peace. (*Applause.*)

I propose a toast to all present here—to all who are working might and main in this direction. I propose a toast to friendship. Your health, friends! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

**MASS RALLY OF CITIZENS OF POONA
IN HONOUR OF
N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
November 25**

**ADDRESS OF CITIZENS OF POONA READ
BY MAYOR B. N. SANAS**

On behalf of the people and the municipal corporation I gladly, from the bottom of my heart, welcome Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchov and their companions. This is truly a festive day in the history of our city. The visit of the Russian leaders is a historic event; our comrades crossed the Himalayas to pay us this visit.

The inhabitants of Poona are happy that during their short stay in India our guests have found time to visit our city. I hope that even in these brief hours of their stay here we shall be able to win their favour.

The Soviet Union is one of the greatest countries in the world. It emancipated its peoples from age-old tsarist oppression. The people's revolution in Russia has its parallels in other parts of the world.

Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi we, on our part, launched a peaceful struggle and won our freedom. British imperialist colonialism has departed from our territory.

Today we can with full justification recall the heroic Russian defence of Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad against the monstrous forces of Hitler. Under the leadership of Stalin our guests guided and inspired the Soviet people to fight to the last drop of blood. They helped to destroy the

spectre of Nazi imperialism. That is why we are happy that you, gentlemen, are here today among us. Only five months ago our beloved Prime Minister had the opportunity to visit your country. The great Soviet people welcomed him everywhere he went, welcomed him with all their hearts.

We shall not forget that friendship and love for our Prime Minister and for us. Your visit to India will bring our nations still closer together. If representatives of the countries of the world were to meet and hold talks as often as possible, it would undoubtedly promote mutual understanding, peace and the prosperity of the nations. The Soviet Union and the Republic of India have a total population of 550 million people whose sole desire is to ensure the nations of the world peace and friendship.

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Mr. Mayor, dear friends,

Allow me to convey ardent greetings from the Soviet people to you and, through you, to the entire population of Poona.

Your city has glorious historical traditions. In the past it was the capital of the courageous and intrepid Marathas, who bravely defended their country's national independence against foreign invaders. Here, not far from Poona, courageous Maratha soldiers waged battles against the colonialists. Your forefathers did not shed their blood in vain. The memory of their deeds has always inspired the Indian people's struggle for national liberation. The aspirations of your brave forefathers have come true: India has become an independent state.

Now the Indian people are gradually turning historic Poona into a city of science and learning. The university, the colleges, the observatory, the National Academy of

Defence, the water and power research station—all these are centres of high culture and education of the youth.

May the noble, freedom-loving Maratha traditions of yesteryear live on for ever in Poona, and may the contemporary culture of the Maratha people develop ever broader and broader.

May friendship between the Soviet and Indian peoples grow and strengthen. We shall work together for a lasting and stable world peace, for friendship among all nations.

Allow me to thank you for the warm welcome you have given us today in your splendid city. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV IN BANGALORE

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV AT CITY RALLY *November 26*

Friends, brothers,

Allow me on behalf of myself personally, of my friend, Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, and of all the friends accompanying us on this wonderful tour of your great country, to thank you for the invitation which has enabled us to visit your State of Mysore and the splendid city of Bangalore. (*Applause.*)

I want also to express our gratitude to the Rajpramukh of Mysore, Mr. Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur, the Chief Minister, Mr. K. Hanumanthaiya, and the Mayor of the city, Mr. V. P. Deenadayalu Naidu, for having said such kind things about our country, about the achievements of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

We have now been several days in your great country. Our tour and our acquaintance with India are going so swiftly and eventfully that we have lost count of the days. This morning, for instance, Nikolai Alexandrovich and I had an argument about what day this is—Saturday or Sunday. (*Animation and laughter.*)

In the few days we have been in India we have seen much and learned much. We have accumulated a mass of impressions. Today we drove about your fine city. How many people, young and old, came out into the streets, what cries of

welcome expressing the friendship and regard of the Indian people for the peoples of the Soviet Union! (*Applause.*)

We should be very petty indeed if we thought that the friendship and regard manifested by the Indian people were meant for me, my friend, Nikolai Alexandrovich, and the other friends who have come here with us. They express the love and respect of the Indian people for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

What have the peoples of the Soviet Union done to deserve the deep affection and warm gratitude of the great people of India?

I ask this question because the appearance of our Soviet state, a state organized on new principles, was greeted by the capitalist world very ungraciously, indeed with hostility. But despite this, our state steadily grew and developed.

We have advanced a very long way since the establishment of the Soviet state. The great Lenin, and the Communist Party he founded, issued the call for peace and for the building of a new society in our country, and this call was taken up by all the peoples. In the early period of Soviet government, our country was poverty-stricken and devastated. Industry was in a state of disruption. Most of the population was illiterate. And in these conditions it needed Lenin's vision, his boldness and perspicacity, to foresee the great future of the new-born workers' and peasants' state, and to win the following of all the peoples of our country.

At that time our enemies said that before a year was out the Soviet state would collapse and Lenin and the Bolsheviks would have nothing for their pains.

Well, what do you think now? Do these gentry qualify as prophets, or have they no place among the prophets? (*Animation.*)

Far from collapsing, the Soviet country, as you know, grew into a mighty power, with a powerful industry and a highly developed economy.

Wherein lies the strength of our Soviet state? After all, it came into being against the opposition of all the capitalist countries. It received no assistance or capital from anyone. On the contrary, everything was done to prevent us, the Soviet people, from building up the Soviet state. Wars and economic blockades were organized against us, and every other obstacle was put in our way. Yet, despite all this, our country grew stronger from year to year, built mills and factories, universities, colleges and schools, raised its cultural standards, and moved steadily forward.

Now the Soviet Union can compare favourably with any capitalist country as regards the number of intellectuals, of engineers.

Well, then, wherein lies our strength? Our strength lies in the people. The people are the chief capital. They are the makers of everything mankind has produced.

We know from our own experience that if a people has won the freedom of its country, it may be illiterate today but will be literate tomorrow. A man may be illiterate today, but tomorrow he will not only be literate; he may become an engineer or a scientist.

In the early years of Soviet government, we had no intelligentsia of our own. Now we have a numerous people's intelligentsia, an intelligentsia that has come from the ranks of the workers and peasants. (*Applause.*) This, friends, we consider one of our biggest achievements. (*Applause.*)

Why is it that you applaud us so heartily and greet us so amicably? For, you know, there are some who abuse us. I shall not go in for propaganda and name those who abuse us. You read the newspapers, and you know what some of the representatives of the bourgeois press are writing about

our tour of India. But you don't believe them. You don't believe them because you know that all the nasty things they write about us are sheer slander. (*Applause.*)

And we say to these hacks: Write what you like, say what you like—dirt does not stick to the clean. (*Animation.*) We have a folk saying I should like to cite: a man passes, the dog barks, the bark is carried away by the wind, the man goes on his way. (*Laughter.*)

And we, too, are going on our way, a way which humanity has never yet followed—the way of socialist construction. Our country is paving the way to a bright future for all mankind.

Our people are building a communist society, and they will achieve their goal—they will build communism!

You may respond in different ways to our ideas. Your conceptions and ours may differ on a number of questions. You must choose your own path of development, that which pleases you most. Not only shall we not try to deter you; we shall assist you in the good work of developing your country, for the benefit of your great and noble people. (*Applause.*)

We say, perhaps there is something in our practical experience that may suit you. If so, use it; if not, don't. We do not force anything upon anyone; we are not seeking to impose any political obligations. Why do we say this to you so frankly? Because our attitude towards you is sincere, as towards brothers. (*Applause.*)

We feel that your welcome to us is a special one. We have visited many Indian towns and villages and have seen much. India today resembles a mighty current that has broken down the obstacles in its way and spread far and wide. That current makes the old world tremble. But we are glad that the Indian people have broken out of colonial slavery, that India has embarked on the path of independent development. (*Applause.*)

Why do we feel about India like this, and why are certain other countries averse to India's independent development? Because it is not our object to take advantage of the weakness of your industrial development; but certain other countries want to exploit this weakness for gain.

We want to see you rapidly building your own mills and factories. You showed us today a very fine college. It will not be long before you see yourselves that it is a small college, that it is only a beginning.

We sincerely wish that India may become as great and strong economically as she is great today in spirit, in culture and moral grandeur. We should like her to have a highly developed industry, an advanced agriculture and a high national standard of living. We, on our part, are ready to help you in this good and splendid cause. (*Applause.*)

Friends, in the speech he made here, the Mayor of your city spoke very well about the Five Principles which were first proclaimed in the Joint Statement signed by Mr. Nehru and our great friend, Chou En-lai. (*Applause.*) These principles were endorsed in the Soviet-Indian Statement signed in Moscow during Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union. It is on this document that we base our relations with your country.

As I have said, there are some points both—of method and theory—on which we differ. We do not conceal it, nor do you. But this does not prevent us from being friends. Why? Because neither of us has any evil designs on the other. You really are our sincere friends, and we are your best friends and brothers. (*Applause.*) Here we have a graphic example of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems.

We propose to all countries: let us live in friendship instead of quarrelling and attacking one another in the press and public statements. But we also frankly say that

we do not like the capitalist method of economic organization, just as not everyone likes our methods.

Let us, we urge the leaders of the capitalist states, prove in practice which system is the best. Let us compete without war. (*Applause.*) Is that a bad proposal? It is better, surely, than to say, let us compete and see who produces the most weapons and who smashes the other. That would be competition against the interests of the people, competition in annihilating human beings. What we propose is peaceful competition in raising the living standards of all peoples. We stand, and always shall stand, for such competition as will help to promote the prosperity of the peoples, to raise their living standards. Therefore, our proposals are very clear and comprehensible. They are comprehensible to all people. And I am sure that this clear and just position of the Soviet Union is welcomed by the Indian people. But we must view things soberly and assess the situation correctly. Every beast has its own food. The tiger, for example, lives on meat, and the buffalo on grass. You cannot force the buffalo to feed on meat, nor the tiger to feed on grass. (*Animation.*) I shall not develop this thought any further, so as not to be suspected of propaganda. I think you understand it. (*Animation and applause.*)

Friends, we have put forward very clear proposals on disarmament. The Mayor of your city pointed out here that we have reduced our armed forces by 640,000 men. We have liquidated our base at Porkkala Udd, in Finland, and given up the naval base we had in Port Arthur.

The Soviet Union has proposed prohibition of the use of atomic and hydrogen weapons, and has submitted proposals on reduction of conventional armaments. We have proposed the establishment of effective control. But, they say, so long as you do not agree to a form of control which will enable the United States to control the territory of

the Soviet Union from the air, and, conversely, the Soviet Union to control the territory of the United States, we shall have no talks with you on questions of disarmament.

It is obvious to all that this form of control is unacceptable, because it does not solve the problem. Assume that American aircraft begin to fly over the Soviet Union, and Soviet aircraft over the United States. What will be the use? The aircraft will fly, and the airmen will see: there is a town here, a village there; here troops are stationed, there some factories are located. Supposing we see that the Americans have a large number of airfields. In that case we shall have to conclude that we must make more headway so as not to fall behind, and build several more airfields. (*Animation.*) The Americans, in their turn, see what we have, and will also say that they must have more airfields and aircraft, and perhaps other things too.

Hence, if we accept this proposal, it will only lead to an arms race. We say to the Western statesmen: If you are afraid to disarm, to destroy your bomb stocks, let us pledge our word of honour as gentlemen that none of us will ever employ atomic weapons. They reply that they cannot pledge their word, because, supposedly, they need hydrogen and atomic bombs to maintain "equilibrium." And what does this "equilibrium" mean? It means an arms race. Hence, considerable resources, a substantial proportion of the national labour goes not for the peaceful development of the country, but for military purposes. Can we continue to reduce armaments unilaterally, when the Western Powers do not want to do likewise? I shall answer this question in the words of a Russian saying: if you live with wolves, you must howl like a wolf. (*Animation.*)

If the Western Powers do not want to prohibit the production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, if they do not even want to pledge their word to prohibit their employ-

ment, this compels us, too, to produce atomic and hydrogen bombs, rocket weapons and all the other means of annihilation.

Today the newspapers in many countries, including some Indian newspapers, stated that an atomic bomb was exploded in the Soviet Union. I shall not say that there was no such explosion. (*Animation and laughter.*) There really was an explosion. It was an explosion of incredible power. Tomorrow our press will be publishing a statement on the subject.

Lately, in pursuance of a plan of research and experiment in atomic energy, new types of atomic and thermonuclear (hydrogen) weapons have been tested in our country. The tests have fully borne out the computations of our research workers. They have, also, demonstrated important new achievements by Soviet scientists and engineers. The latest experimental hydrogen bomb explosion was the most powerful explosion carried out so far. Our scientists and engineers succeeded, with the use of a comparatively small amount of nuclear material, in producing an explosion equal to that of several million tons of ordinary explosive. But I declare, friends, that the Soviet Union will never abuse its possession of these weapons. (*Animation and applause.*) We shall be happy if these bombs never explode over towns and villages. (*Applause.*) Let the bombs lie in storage and get on the nerves of those who want to unleash war. Let it be known that one cannot unleash war, because if he starts war, he can be sure of meeting with a proper rebuff. (*Animation.*)

We were compelled to develop this terrible type of weapon. It is not this that enthralls us. We work with greater satisfaction on the making of more machines, tractors, ploughs, in order to grow more wheat, rice and cotton, and in order that our people may have meat, vegetables, fish and

other foods in abundance. That is what we want, and that is what we are working for. (*Applause.*)

To this end, we shall continue to strive persistently for world peace. (*Applause.*) We shall continue to strive for reduction of international tension. (*Applause.*) We shall strive for the ending of the "cold war," and work for the development of trade among all countries. It will be our concern to promote friendly international contacts. This is what life demands. This is what mankind needs.

We shall do all that we can for the satisfaction of man's requirements. We must not relax our efforts, we must mobilize everything necessary to compel the aggressive-minded elements in a number of countries to talk less of war, and more of contacts, of the promotion of peaceful relations between countries and elimination of international tension.

If I have said anything that may be unpleasant to anyone, please forgive me. (*Animation and applause.*) What I chiefly wanted was to express my warm feelings of friendship for your great people, to tell you that all the Soviet people entertain the most friendly feelings for the peoples of India. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In conclusion, I should like once again to express our deep gratitude and acknowledgements to the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, that excellent man and distinguished statesman who invited our delegation to your great and hospitable country. (*Applause.*)

Long live the fraternal friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union!

Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'il (*Prolonged applause.*)

**RECEPTION GIVEN
BY K. HANUMANTHAIYA,
CHIEF MINISTER OF STATE OF MYSORE,
IN BANGALORE
November 26**

K. Hanumanthaiya, Chief Minister of the State of Mysore, gave a reception in Bangalore on November 26 in honour of the Soviet visitors. During the reception Chief Minister Hanumanthaiya and N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, exchanged speeches.

"We are happy to welcome among us two such outstanding leaders of the U.S.S.R.," K. Hanumanthaiya said. "Your arrival in our country has brought joy to 360 million Indians. The arrival of such distinguished leaders is indeed a historic event. That is particularly true of this case, because your arrival is of deep and beneficial import for the whole world. Friendship between our two great countries is nothing new, but now it is firm and solid."

"Before the Great October Revolution Russia was in the clutches of imperialism and capitalism. Russia was a poor country, she was among the backward countries. Now, thanks to the leadership of Lenin and his successors, Russia has become one of the most powerful and influential countries in the world. That the face of an entire huge country has been so greatly transformed in the lifetime of a single generation is in itself something like a miracle. I trust you are gratified by the fact that not only your country alone has enjoyed the fruits of your labours. Russia helped to weaken

the chains of world imperialism and colonialism. Your efforts to prevent war and establish a durable peace have won you the regard and gratitude of the entire war-weary world."

K. Hanumanthaiya went on to say: "We live in the age of the atom. This is a critical moment in the history of man. Never before has mankind striven so persistently for peace. At this time all your energies are directed towards the noble goal of employing atomic energy for the welfare of man."

The Chief Minister emphasized further that the Indians were by tradition a peace-loving people. "Having won independence," he said, "India has devoted all her efforts to the maintenance of world peace. The meeting between India and Russia that your arrival marks is therefore a meeting of two great forces working for a common aim, for the cause of peace. It is this feeling that lies at the bottom of the spontaneous outburst of rejoicing called forth by your arrival. Your arrival is the prelude to a new great era. We have read the speeches made by you in various towns of our country, we have heard your assurances that you will do everything possible to help the backward countries. Your speeches breathe simplicity, courage and modesty, they are permeated with brotherly sentiments."

The Chief Minister also pointed out that the State of Mysore has a population of 10 millions. "A mere eight years have passed," he said, "since we threw off the yoke of imperialism and autocracy. Along with the people of the other parts of India, we have undertaken to establish in our country a society of the socialist type. Your visit will undoubtedly be an additional source of inspiration to us in the fulfilment of this great task."

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

On behalf of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and on my own behalf I thank you, and through you all the citizens of Bangalore, for the exceptionally warm welcome given us here. We are full of the finest impressions of the industrious and gifted people of Mysore, of their great achievements in building a new life, and of their wonderful monuments of ancient culture created by skilled folk craftsmen.

To our regret we do not have the time to make a more detailed acquaintance with all the aspects of life and many places of interest in Mysore, although we should like very much to do so. Allow me to express the hope that the contacts we have made here with the citizens of Bangalore will be successfully continued and developed in future.

There is no need to dwell here on the importance of the development of all-round ties between India and the Soviet Union. The significance of these ties is very great, and we are confident that their extension accords with the interests of the peoples of both countries, India and the Soviet Union. I should like in this connection to cite one example which shows how greatly friendly contacts benefit both our peoples. Beginning with 1948 delegations of scientists from the U.S.S.R. Academy of Science have been taking part annually in sessions of the Indian Scientific Congress. In these years many Soviet doctors, statisticians, geologists, metallurgists and other specialists have visited India, and many of your scientists have visited the Soviet Union. They have exchanged experience and advice, with definite benefit both to India and the U.S.S.R.

In future, too, Indian delegations will have every opportunity to acquaint themselves with the Soviet Union's industrial and agricultural development, scientific and engineering achievements, public education and the health services,

and achievements in culture and art. They can always count on receiving the necessary aid and due attention during their stay in the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

Direct contact and close, broad ties between the Soviet and Indian peoples benefit both our countries and promote friendship and co-operation between India and the Soviet Union. This friendship between our two great peoples is an important factor for the promotion of peace and international security. Long live the growing friendship between the Indian and Soviet peoples! (*Applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy applause.*)

**PUBLIC RALLY
IN MADRAS IN HONOUR
OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV**
November 28

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Esteemed Mr. Governor,
Esteemed Mr. Chief Minister,
Mr. Mayor,
Dear friends,

We gladly accepted the invitation to visit your splendid city of Madras. Allow me, on my own behalf, on behalf of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and our friends who have arrived together with us, to thank you for the warm reception accorded us during our stay in your city. We also thank you for the presents you have given us. Allow me also to extend to you fervent and friendly greetings from the Soviet people, who entertain deep respect for the great and peace-loving people of India. (*Applause.*)

Before coming to Madras we visited a number of other Indian cities. One could speak at length about the impressions this very useful trip has made on us, but I want to say first of all that everywhere in India we have observed an irrepressible desire of the people to preserve peace. The industrious Indian people, who have won national independence for their country, are engaged in constructive labour.

The peoples of the Soviet Union are likewise engaged in peaceful constructive labour. They are building a new society together with other peace-loving peoples and are fully resolved to prevent another world conflagration from breaking

out, because they know from their own experience what war is like. Ready at any moment to defend their interests, the Soviet people are consistently upholding the cause of peace; they are working to ease international tension, to remove the danger of another war and assure peaceful co-operation between all states, irrespective of their social systems. The Soviet people are happy that they have many allies in this lofty cause, and among them such a splendid ally as the people of your great country.

Other peoples of Asia who are now living through a great turning point in their history are also working to preserve a firm and lasting peace. For decades, indeed for centuries, the peoples of Asia have groaned under the yoke of foreigners and have fought selflessly for their freedom and national independence, and now the colonial regime is collapsing and passing out of existence for ever. (*Applause.*) Yet there are some states in Europe which still fail to understand that the days of the old colonial order are gone never to return. There is no justification whatever for the existence, to this very day, of the Portuguese colony of Goa on what since time immemorial has been the territory of India. This is a disgrace to the civilized nations. (*Applause.*) The sympathies of the Soviet people have always been, and will always be, on the side of those who are fighting against colonialism and its survivals. (*Stormy applause.*)

One cannot say that the peoples of Asia have already overcome all their difficulties on the road to independent development. Attempts are still being made to push them off the path of peaceful development and on to the path of militarization and preparation of another war. That, in particular, is the purpose behind the various military pacts and blocs which are being knocked together in Southeast Asia, the Middle East and other parts of the world. They arouse justified suspicion on the part of the peoples of Asia because

their initiators are the same forces which in their day implanted and defended the colonial system. Your Government, headed by Mr. Nehru, that outstanding statesman of our time, has taken a wise decision in refusing to join those military groupings, clearly realizing that they hamper the efforts of the peoples to secure a firm and lasting peace, and that the existence of such groupings greatly increases the danger of another war.

We note with satisfaction that many Asian countries have taken a determined stand against the building of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on their territory, being perfectly aware that the establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops on their territory is fraught with the great danger of it being turned into an area of war and annihilation.

We know that Madras is famed for its ancient culture. The wonderful architectural monuments which have arisen on your land throughout the centuries bear witness to the tremendous talent of your people, of your architects and builders. The State of Madras holds an important place in India's economic and cultural life. The state's chief treasure and asset, however, is its people, the creators of its wealth and its material values.

Today all the peoples of India are working to strengthen their country's independence. We do not doubt that a broad road to new achievements in all spheres of the country's economic and cultural life lies open before them. We wish you success in further strengthening the unity of the peoples of India, in increasing her wealth and in steadfastly upholding the cause of peace. In the peoples of the Soviet Union you have true and reliable friends (*applause*), staunch and consistent champions of peace. (*Applause*.)

Friendship between our peoples has glorious and ancient traditions. Never have relations between them been clouded

by friction, still less by conflicts. This alone means much in evaluating prospects for the development of Soviet-Indian relations, prospects for further strengthening friendship and co-operation between the two countries.

The Soviet people note with deep satisfaction that India is in the vanguard of the champions striving for the peaceful co-existence of nations (*applause*), and for the implementation of *Panch Shila* (*applause*), the Five Principles proclaimed in the Statement of Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai, and in the Joint Soviet-Indian Statement issued during the recent visit of Prime Minister Nehru to the Soviet Union. The Soviet people highly appreciate the contribution made by India and her Government to the cause of peace and peaceful settlement of outstanding international problems. In the Republic of India and her Government they see a like-minded ally in the struggle for peace and for further relaxation of international tension.

Long live the great industrious people of India! (*Applause*.)

Long live the inviolable friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy applause*.)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy applause*.)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Friends,

I subscribe to what my friend Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin has said in his speech. To what he said I will add: Our feelings of friendship blend with yours. We are fighting for peace together with you. (*Applause*.)

If we use the strength of our friendship wisely and unite our efforts in the struggle for peace, then none of the forces bent on launching another war need hold any fears for us. They will be swept out of the way and peace will be ensured. (*Stormy applause*.)

The Soviet people rejoice at every success of the peoples of India. They rejoice at your successes because in the past they themselves were oppressed and exploited by the tsarist autocracy, by domestic and foreign oppressors. In bitter struggle they created their powerful workers' and peasants' state, independent of the whims of foreign enslavers. This is why the Soviet people rejoice that the peoples of India, having rid themselves of colonial oppression, are now building their own independent state.

We know from the experience of our own country that winning independence is not enough; after it has been won, independence must be consolidated, so that it can be upheld. (*Stormy applause.*) The way to consolidate the independence you have won is by building up a powerful industry of your own and steadily raising the living standard of the people. (*Applause.*) It is our sincere wish that the Republic of India may have a powerful, highly developed industry of her own, and a national economy independent of foreign states.

Our people advanced towards that goal in their own way and they have achieved big results. You are following your own road, the road you have chosen. But you should know, friends, that the Soviet people will always be with you in your efforts to consolidate the independence you have won. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the great people of India! (*Applause.*)

Long live everlasting and inviolable friendship of the peoples of India and the peoples of the Soviet Union! (*Applause.*)

*Long live world peace, everlasting peace among nations! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV IN CALCUTTA

RALLY OF THE PEOPLE OF CALCUTTA IN HONOUR OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

November 30

The rally was opened by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, who emphasized that such a large popular gathering had never before taken place in Calcutta.

S. C. Ghosh, the Mayor, read an Address of the people of Calcutta to N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet.

ADDRESS OF THE PEOPLE OF CALCUTTA

To His Excellency the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, N. A. Bulganin, and His Excellency the great Soviet leader, N. S. Khrushchov. May they live long years! Dear and Honoured Guests,

We extend to you our most cordial greetings. This noble city of the East welcomes you with open arms and with a profound sentiment of devotion and respect. In the decisive epoch of the past it was in this city that our culture first came under the influence of the dynamic civilization of the West. Subsequently India started a new chapter in her history and opened her gates wide to ideas from the West. Today you have come from the West as envoys of a new political system and we welcome you. You are achieving

your aims with never-failing resolution and purposefulness. India is filled with respect for you.

Creators of the new order,

From the very beginning of its history mankind has strived to find new ways of life and has tried out new social systems. India has never lagged behind in those ceaseless searches. The lives of hundreds of her great men enrich the annals of her history. By her persistent efforts she has at last attained her goal, her ideal of individual freedom and tolerance. India believes in the greatest possible freedom for the individual because she considers that only thereby can full development of personality be achieved. But India also believes that other countries may have different systems and ideals. Tolerance is the key to Indian culture. Truth is one, but different roads lead to it. India acknowledges the exceptional efforts of the Soviet people to raise the welfare of the common man. May your efforts be crowned with success!

Dear friends,

How pleasant the ties of friendship and affection between peoples, between nations can be! Yet we see today that the world is in a state of tension, rent by conflict and plunged in the fear of war. Our great leader, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has shown where the solution lies—in the acceptance of the principles of co-existence, the principles of *Panch Shila*. Let every nation follow its own way of life and build up its destiny without interference from others. It is a great satisfaction for India that the mighty Soviet Union has accepted that idea. May the ties between India and the Soviet Union be strengthened, and may the joint efforts of the two nations for world peace bear fruits; may the world be spared the horrors of total destruction!

Long live the Soviet Union!

Jai Hind! (Long live India!)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Esteemed Dr. Mookerjee, Governor of Western Bengal,
Esteemed Dr. Roy, First Minister of Western Bengal,
Esteemed Mr. Ghosh, Mayor of Calcutta,

Dear men and women, citizens of Calcutta (*applause*),

Allow me to thank you for the exceptionally warm and friendly reception you have extended us representatives of the Soviet Union, your unselfish friend and brother! (*Stormy applause.*)

During our short stay in your country we have become convinced of the Indian people's sincere desire to strengthen and further develop friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union. This friendship has deep roots. (*Applause.*)

The historic destinies of our peoples have much in common. That is why we understand each other so easily. Our friendship is based not only on community of aims in the struggle for freedom and independence in the past, but on community of aims today and in the future too.

Wonderful prospects for independent national development and for the building of a new life have opened out before the peoples of India since they freed themselves from age-old colonial oppression and adopted the line of independent development.

India has won her political freedom, thus creating the prerequisite for the progress of your great country.

We are particularly glad of the solidarity of the Asian peoples who have risen for the decisive storm of the world colonial system and have tremendous achievements to their credit.

The peoples of great China, our common friend and brother, have gained an historic victory. (*Applause.*)

Great India has won political independence! (*Applause.*)

Other Asian peoples too are freeing themselves from hated

colonial oppression. They are choosing their path of development, non-interference of other states in their internal affairs. We greet the peoples of these countries in their great endeavours.

There are countries which fasten themselves like ticks to a healthy body. I mean Portugal, which refuses to leave Goa, to relinquish its hold on that territory which legitimately belongs to India. (*Applause.*)

But this will happen sooner or later and Goa will be free of foreign domination and become a component part of the Republic of India. (*Stormy applause.*)

The solidarity of the Asian peoples is a mortal blow to the world colonial system.

We are in famous Calcutta, the centre of Western Bengal, which made greater sacrifices in the struggle for India's independence than any other state in India. (*Stormy applause.*)

The people of Calcutta have displayed great understanding of their role in the struggle for an independent India. We are happy to greet them, happy to convey the most sincere greetings from the peoples of the Soviet Union (*applause*) and wish you, our dear friends, success in strengthening the state of your birth. (*Stormy applause.*)

We know from the experience of our country what inexhaustible forces people display when they struggle for a great cause like the strengthening of the independence they have won. Our whole people together built up its own powerful industry. No one helped us. More than that, the capitalists did all they could to harm us.

But utilizing all our domestic resources we have built a strong socialist state.

We now have a powerful industry which enables us to attain important successes in the development of our national economy.

We sincerely and heartily wish you success in developing your home industry—the condition for strengthening the independence of any great state. (*Applause.*)

You have immense possibilities for the development of a powerful industry of your own—an enormous raw material base and industrious and talented people. As yet, of course, you have little experience. But we are prepared to share ours with you, to pass on to you the necessary technical knowledge. (*Applause.*)

We had no such friends when we began to build our industry. But we found strength to surmount all difficulties. We believe that India will build a mighty industry of her own.

In the very first years of Soviet power Lenin put forward the idea of peaceful co-existence of the socialist and the capitalist systems. He said that the socialist state would constantly grow and gain strength and, whether the capitalist states liked it or not, they would be compelled to trade with the Soviet Land, to have close economic ties with our country. We Soviet people have always stood for peaceful relations between states irrespective of their political system, for independent development of both large and small countries and respect for their territorial integrity, for non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. That is why we so heartily support the Five Principles proclaimed in the Statement signed by Mr. Nehru, your Prime Minister, and Comrade Chou En-lai, as representative of the great Chinese people. (*Applause.*) These Five Principles conform to our foreign policy, and we gave them our full support by signing the Joint Statement of the Soviet Union and India. (*Applause.*)

Friends,

The peoples of our countries, engaged in peaceful constructive endeavour, are vitally interested in maintaining

and strengthening peace. The friendship between the peoples of India and of the Soviet Union is growing and becoming stronger in the fight for peace.

Each going its own way, the peoples of our countries are working for their bright future.

Further consolidation of our friendship, mutual exchange of experience and broad development of economic and cultural ties between the peoples of our countries will undoubtedly promote the earliest attainment of the noble aims they have set themselves.

Our friendship enriches the peoples of India and of the Soviet Union materially and spiritually.

Friendship between the peoples of India and of the Soviet Union, however, is not to the liking of some people, who would not be averse to destroying it. It is clear to us why certain circles in some countries are trying to achieve this. They fear friendship between peoples because it promotes the strengthening of world peace.

We have never imposed our ideas or our way of life on other countries, as the governments of some states do. We build our relations with other countries on mutual respect for the way of life chosen by those nations.

We stand for reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons. (*Applause.*) But to our regret we are not getting proper support in this matter from the Western states. They do not want this because the monopolists thrive on the armament race. They do not want any cut in armaments because they strive to make us spend more for defence purposes so that we will not be able to spend more on the peaceful development of our national economy or to render assistance to economically underdeveloped countries.

It is our task to exert an active influence on the reactionary forces and to work for the prohibition of atomic

weapons. We are in favour of control over armaments, but of effective, not fictitious, control. (*Applause.*)

We have special pleasure in visiting your wonderful city since it is one of the biggest industrial and cultural centres in India. It is a pleasure for us to visit it also because it is the birthplace of the great son of the Bengali people, the writer of genius and public figure Rabindranath Tagore. (*Applause.*) Tagore was a sincere and loyal friend of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) The Soviet people deeply respect him and are fond of his works. (*Applause.*)

Our compatriot Gerasim Lebedev lived and worked in your city, and together with advanced representatives of the Indian intellectuals he founded the first Bengali theatre in 1795.

We should like relations between our countries to grow broader and stronger. We should like your people to come oftener to our country, where they will always find the warmest and most cordial welcome. (*Applause.*)

Allow me to thank you once more, dear friends, for the warm and exceptionally hospitable reception you extended us. We take it as the expression of your love for the peoples of the Soviet Union, a love of which we are very proud. The peoples of India and of the Soviet Union are brothers! (*Stormy applause.*)

We express our most heartfelt gratitude to Mr. Nehru, that outstanding statesman and political leader, whom we sincerely and highly respect (*applause*), and we wish to thank him once more for the invitation to visit your country and to acquaint ourselves with her life and the wonderful Indian people.

May the fraternal friendship between the peoples of India and of the Soviet Union grow stronger and develop! (*Applause.*) Long live world peace! (*Stormy applause and cheers.*)

SPEECH BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Twelve days ago our esteemed guests arrived in Delhi and were welcomed by our people. Then they made a journey through other parts of India, visited several of our famous cities and saw some of our rural localities. Now they have arrived in this, our largest city, and you have organized the biggest reception for them. I congratulate you on this, although I should have liked your enthusiasm to have been more disciplined.

Our guests have seen some of our achievements and the work we are doing in our country and have got to know the spirit of our people, just as I saw their great achievements when I visited the Soviet Union and was welcomed by the Soviet people five months ago. Thus we come to know and understand one another better, and the friendship between us is growing stronger.

Our guests have everywhere laid stress upon the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence—*Panch Shila*—and expressed their agreement with them. These Five Principles are the basis of our relations with other countries and we are sure that if relations between countries rest on this foundation they will be sound, peaceful and in the spirit of co-operation, because such relations are based on equality, mutual respect and peaceful co-existence and exclude aggression and interference in each other's internal affairs. A conflict arises when one country reigns over another or interferes in its internal affairs. Were the Five Principles fully and sincerely adopted by all countries peace would be guaranteed everywhere and co-operation would exist.

That does not mean that all countries must resemble one another or pursue the same policy. It means that each country must develop freely in the way it considers necessary,

being at the same time friendly towards other countries. India and the Soviet Union have different economic and political systems. Nevertheless, we are friendly countries and co-operate in many fields, because we respect each other's freedom and way of life and do not want to interfere.

For us in India peaceful co-existence is not a new idea. It has been our way of life and it is as old as our thought and culture. Two thousand two hundred years ago, India's great son Asoka proclaimed this idea and carved it on a rock which still exists today and conveys his message to us. Asoka told us that we must respect the faith of others, that a man who extolls his own faith and abases another's does harm to his own. That is a lesson in tolerance and peaceful co-existence and co-operation, in which India believed for many centuries. Now we speak more about economic and social systems, but the approach is the same as formerly.

That is why we do our best to be friends with all countries, whether we agree with them or not. That is why we refrain from criticizing other countries, even when we do not agree with their policy, provided circumstances do not force us to explain our point of view.

From this it naturally follows that we must keep out of military and similar alliances and not join any of the groups of the Great Powers which rule the world today. We are pursuing our own independent policy, but not in a spirit of pride or arrogance. We cannot do otherwise, unless we have forgotten everything that India stood for in the past and stands for today. We welcome relations and friendship with all and exchange of thoughts and ideas of all kinds, but we reserve for ourselves the right to choose our own way. In this lies the essence of *Panch Shila*.

The great reception which our guests have had in India has disturbed some of our friends in other countries who

cannot help thinking in categories of hostile camps and military alliances. I have frequently declared that we do not intend to join any camp or alliance. That is our basic policy. But we want to co-operate with all for peace and security and the improvement of the condition of mankind.

No one must object to friendship and co-operation among others. We must show love and avoid hatred, coercion and enmity.

We are happy that India and the Soviet Union have been brought nearer to each other through the historical visit of the Soviet leaders, and we desire fruitful co-operation for peace and the well-being of mankind. This friendship and this co-operation are not directed against any nation or people. We hope that the zone of friendship and co-operation will extend until in the end it covers the whole world. To this we dedicate ourselves.

I again greet our esteemed guests and hope that they will convey our message of friendship and greeting to their people.

(Nehru's speech was frequently interrupted by applause. The crowd cheered when, in conclusion, he hailed Indo-Soviet friendship and world peace.)

RALLY IN JAIPUR IN HONOUR OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

December 8

A rally in honour of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov was held in Jaipur on December 8. In his speech of welcome M. L. Sukhadia, Chief Minister of the State of Jaipur, said:

"On behalf of the people of Rajasthan allow me to convey sincere greetings to you on the occasion of your visit to our historic city of Jaipur. We in Rajasthan eagerly looked forward to your visit and we welcome you with deep satisfaction and joy. We are happy to have you here among us today. Although your visit will be brief, I hope you will feel that the heart of the common man of India is filled with deep love for you and the great people of the Soviet Union.

"I greet you as esteemed representatives and leaders of a great friendly nation. Our people are proud to welcome you here as friends and comrades on the road to the prosperity of mankind. The heroic struggle of your courageous peoples against the forces of darkness during the Second World War met with boundless sympathy and admiration from our compatriots, although, unfortunately, at that time we were merely sorrowful onlookers in an enslaved country."

The Chief Minister went on to say: "Your visit to India has given us an opportunity to become better acquainted with the Soviet Union, to understand it better. India fully subscribes to the passionate desire of the Soviet people to

preserve world peace. We in India have great and old traditions of peace and tolerance, bequeathed to us by Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our country. Our Prime Minister is, in his own way, following in the footsteps of the great teacher. What with the tremendous reserve of good will existing in the world today, we are confident that India and the Soviet Union, hand in hand, will successfully uphold all the values and ideals which give meaning and worth to human life.... For our part, I should like sincerely to assure you that we shall always retain the most vivid and precious memories of your visit to India.

"Allow me once again to take advantage of this occasion to convey through you and your comrades our heartiest greetings and warm wishes for peace and prosperity to the friendly people of the great Soviet Union."

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Mr. Chief Minister, Mr. Mayor, dear friends,

Allow me on my own behalf, on behalf of Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov, on behalf of the friends who are accompanying us, and on behalf of the entire multi-million Soviet people, to convey friendly greetings to you. (*Applause.*)

We heartily thank you, dear friends, for your warm welcome and fraternal hospitality. (*Applause.*)

Jaipur is known as a city with a glorious history, as a city with wonderful monuments of Indian architecture.

We know that the population of Jaipur together with all the people of Rajasthan for a long time heroically upheld their independence and inscribed many glorious pages in the annals of India's struggle for independence. (*Applause.*) We know how courageously the people of Rajasthan are combating grim nature, and we wish them successes in

converting the droughty areas of the state into flourishing fields and orchards, into sources of the people's prosperity. (*Prolonged applause.*)

During our stay in India we have visited many towns and districts of your great country. We have seen and learned a great deal. We have made the acquaintance of the people of India, who everywhere have greeted us as friends and expressed their ardent love for the Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We have been deeply moved by the warm fraternal welcome you accorded us. We shall never forget it. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The friendship between the Indian and the Soviet peoples is a great historical achievement. This friendship was born in the struggle of the peace-loving nations against war, in the struggle for peace and security. The friendship between our peoples is of immense importance for the further consolidation of the forces of peace. (*Applause.*)

The relations between our countries are based on the well-known Five Principles, *Panch Shila*. (*Prolonged applause.*) The Soviet Union firmly adheres to these principles. (*Applause.*) We want the friendship and co-operation between India and the Soviet Union to develop and gain in strength for the benefit of our great countries, for the benefit of peace. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Dear friends, allow me to wish success and prosperity to the wonderful city of Jaipur, to your state and to the entire Indian people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

May the sovereign and independent Republic of India—our country's great friend—grow in stature and strength! (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the friendship between the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Stormy applause.*)

N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV IN KASHMIR

STATEMENT BY N. A. BULGANIN AT AIRFIELD December 9

Sadar-i-Riyasat, Mr. Prime Minister, ladies and gentlemen, Allow me to convey to you, and in your person to the population of Kashmir, our sincere gratitude for your warm and hearty welcome.

We have been to many cities in India, have visited industrial establishments and plantations, construction sites and scientific institutions and are full of impressions of everything seen in that great country.

India is a country of immense potentialities and the Indian people are filled with desire to build a new, economically strong India.

During our trip we have met representatives of many peoples inhabiting India who differ in language, historic traditions and culture, but they are all united in their striving for peace and peaceful labour. We can assure you that in their striving for peace the Indian people have loyal and consistent friends in the peoples of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

Our tour of India has proved very useful to us. We must say with all frankness that the conception of India we had was far from adequate. Thanks to the opportunity kindly granted us we travelled through the whole of South and Central India. But without visiting the northern part of

India we would not have been able to get a full idea of India. (*Applause.*)

That is why we have accepted with great satisfaction the invitation of the Sadar-i-Riyasat Yuvraj Karan Singh to visit Kashmir. (*Applause.*) The trip to Kashmir is interesting to us because the peculiar natural conditions of Kashmir, the rich original culture of its peoples and the art of the popular craftsmen have won Kashmir world-wide renown. The trip to Kashmir is of interest to us, representatives of the Soviet people, also because Kashmir is near to our country. In the past we always had extensive trade ties with Kashmir. (*Stormy applause.*)

We should like to make use of our sojourn in Kashmir to learn about the life and customs of the Kashmiri people, their rich, original culture and their achievements.

Once again we thank you, dear friends, for your warm welcome. (*Stormy applause.*)

**LUNCHEON
GIVEN BY SADAR-I-RIYASAT YUVRAJ
KARAN SINGH
IN HONOUR
OF N. A. BULGANIN
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
December 10**

SPEECH BY SADAR-I-RIYASAT Y. K. SINGH

The natural beauties and the arts and crafts of this state of the Indian Union are known the whole world over. Ever since your visit to India was announced we hoped you would come to Kashmir. We are grateful to you for having honoured us with your visit despite all the inconveniences it caused you. This gesture of yours is highly appreciated by our people. We only regret that at this time of the year we cannot show you Kashmir at its best. I sincerely hope you come to us sometime in the spring or summer, when the gifts of our nature shine in all their wealth and splendour.

Your visit to India, following close upon the historic visit of our great Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, to Russia, has tremendous national and international significance. Between our two countries there exists a long-standing tradition of friendly, good-neighbourly relations, although until recently, owing to historical reasons, close cultural relations between us did not develop. But now that we have become a sovereign, independent republic, ties of friendship and mutual understanding have been created between India and the Soviet Union on the basis of the noble Five Principles, *Panch Shila*. This friendship is a good sign for the establishment and maintenance of world peace, for the creation of conditions under which all energies can be con-

centrated on improving human well-being. We in Kashmir, together with our fellow-citizens in the other parts of India, welcome this historic process.

Allow me once again to thank you for having honoured us by your presence, and to express the hope that friendship between our two countries will grow from day to day. *Jai Hind!* (Long live India!) (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Sadar-i-Riyasat,

We heartily thank you for your warm and friendly welcome and for the kind words you have addressed to us here. We gladly accepted the invitation to visit Kashmir. (*Applause.*)

The Soviet people are well familiar with the rich and distinctive culture of Kashmir, which has presented India with many outstanding scientists, historians, writers, political leaders and artists.

The productions of the industrious and talented craftsmen of Kashmir are highly valued in the Soviet Union. In this we were not mistaken. When visiting today the exhibition of the work of local craftsmen, we had one more opportunity to convince ourselves of their great skill.

We think that the talented and industrious people of Kashmir, together with all the peoples of India, will achieve further success in economic and cultural development.

Sadar-i-Riyasat, you rightly observed that co-operation between the Soviet Union and India is now particularly fruitful, developing as it is on the basis of the Five Principles, *Panch Shila*. These principles not only ensure the peaceful co-existence and co-operation of our countries; they serve the general cause of the peace and security of the nations.

The Soviet Union is perseveringly working to ease international tension and to strengthen confidence between the states, so that international problems may be fully solved by negotiation. We are confident that a real international détente will come when universal confidence has been established, as expressed in renunciation of the policy of forming military blocs, in cessation of the arms race, in successive reductions of armed forces and armaments, and in unconditional prohibition of the production and use of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

We are very glad that on many of these problems India's views and our views concur.

Allow me to wish you, your people and all the population of Kashmir continued and even greater achievement.

The warm and cordial welcome we have received is evidence of the friendly feelings cherished by your people for the Soviet Union.

Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union! (*Applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Applause.*)

RECEPTION
GIVEN BY G. M. BAKSHI,
PRIME MINISTER OF KASHMIR,
IN HONOUR
OF N. A. BULGANIN
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
December 10

SPEECH BY G. M. BAKSHI

Your Excellencies,

It is with deep satisfaction that I welcome you from the bottom of my heart on behalf of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. We are grateful to you for your consent to visit these places, although, we believe, it has burdened you to a certain extent. Allow me to assure you that we regard your consent as an expression of your warm, sincere attitude towards us, and that the memory of your visit will remain as a fond and pleasant memory in the hearts of the people of Kashmir.

Throughout the centuries Kashmir has hospitably welcomed people from all over the world who have visited this splendid valley. There was a time when we maintained, through the Pamirs, lively relations with many parts of Central Asia. The commercial and cultural intercourse which then existed laid an imprint on our life and culture. Welcoming you today, we take advantage of the occasion to emphasize our century-old cultural and commercial relations with the peoples of your country.

We are happy that, for the first time in history, it appears, such outstanding guests from the neighbouring great Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have visited us. This is a memorable event of our time, marking the broadening

relations of friendship and good will which the people are striving to establish with all parts of the world and with all nations....

Pursuing the ideal of peace and progress, India has stretched out a hand of friendship and alliance to all the nations of the world. Prompted by a sincere desire to relax international tension, our leader and Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, has dedicated all his energies and all the resources of the country to influence the international situation, with a view to preventing war and violence and bringing near security, peace and co-operation. We note with satisfaction that all the peace-loving peoples of the world, regardless of the colour of their skin or their religion, are united in the attainment of that historic goal.

The preservation of peace is particularly important to the people of Kashmir, for they have experienced the sufferings and deprivations caused by armed conflict. At a time when the war had ended everywhere, our people were drawn into a struggle which has left a bitter mark in the memory of our generation. The powerful desire of our people for peace and freedom is therefore fully understandable, and we welcome the good will of all supporters of freedom, peace and progress.

The visit of Your Excellencies to our country testifies to the growing understanding and good will of the great Soviet Union towards India. The warmth and sincerity with which our people have welcomed you everywhere during your visit is a testimony of the feelings which the Indians entertain for your country. We stand on the threshold of great social and economic changes, and the co-operation and assistance of all our well-wishers sincerely concerned with progress and freedom will promote the further development of good-neighbourly relations between our two countries.

The close bonds which link the U.S.S.R. and India on

the basis of the great Five Principles of peaceful co-existence inspire our people with confidence that the danger of war will be eliminated and that the zones of possible conflict will gradually give way to zones of concord and friendship.

May the friendship between our peoples pave the way to the establishment of more peaceful and happy relations the world over! (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Dear friends,

Allow me first of all to express my deep gratitude to the Sadar-i-Riyasat of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. Y. K. Singh, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, Mr. G. M. Bakshi, to all present here and to all the people of your state for the cordial reception you have given us. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We shall never forget the very hearty welcome we received from the people of Kashmir. Yesterday, when we rode in the boats on the river, with its banks crowded with welcoming people, and through the thronged streets of Srinagar, we were deeply moved by the manifestation of most cordial friendship and affection entertained by the inhabitants of Kashmir, as of all the other Indian cities and states we visited, for their friend and brother, the people of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*)

Your state is situated nearest of all to the Central Asian republics of the Soviet Union—Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. (*Applause.*) That is why we accepted with deep gratitude the invitation of the esteemed chief of your state, Yuvraj Karan Singh, to come to Kashmir. It has been a pleasure to visit your state, because it is the birthplace of your esteemed Premier, Mr. Nehru. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Your climate, too, is similar to that of our Central Asian

republics, and the crops you grow have much in common with theirs. When we came here we felt, as it were, the breath of our native country, of its southern, Central Asian part. The population of Kashmir and of the capital of your state, Srinagar, is not homogeneous in composition. Here live Kashmiris, Dogras and Ladkhis; the inhabitants of Kashmir include Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs and members of other nationalities and religions. But when we drove through the streets of Srinagar, we felt that we were being welcomed in equal degree by people of all religions and nationalities. This was expressed both in the mottoes of welcome and in the kind words addressed to us by the inhabitants of Srinagar.

All this was linked with the name of the Prime Minister of the Republic of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who enjoys here, as in the other states of India, immense popularity and prestige. (*Prolonged applause.*)

All this indicates that the peoples of Jammu and Kashmir, though of different nationalities and different faiths, live together harmoniously and want to work effectively for the welfare of their motherland, the Republic of India. (*Applause.*)

Friendly co-operation of peoples is something we understand and dearly prize. Our country is multi-national in composition. In it live people of many faiths. But this does not give rise to any misunderstanding, and the Soviet people live and work together in one harmonious family. (*Applause.*)

Religion is a matter for the conscience of each individual, and of each nation. Our delegation includes Jabar Rasulov, Zuhra Rakhimbabayeva and Sharaf Rashidov, representatives of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, whose peoples profess the Mohammedan faith. But in what way do our Moslems differ from members of other faiths? We make no

such distinction, because all the peoples of our country are worthy members of the great Soviet Union, and constitute one family of nations. (*Applause.*)

We in the Soviet Union have effectively solved the national problem and the problem of freedom of religion. Every citizen of our country may worship in the way he thinks fit.

I say this in order that you may have a clearer idea of our attitude to this question. There are states which still seek to sow discord among the peoples of India by stirring up national enmity or dividing the peoples on religious lines. Official representatives of these states attempt to foment artificial conflicts.

But is this to the benefit of India and her peoples? We think that it is to the detriment of the interests both of India as a whole and of the peoples of India.

The peoples want to have the opportunity to work, to raise their cultural standards, and to live in material security. They want to have a state of their own which is free and not dependent on the whims of imperialist states.

But does all this depend on the faith this or that people professes? I think not. (*Applause.*)

In order to enjoy the political freedoms and to be able constantly to raise one's educational standards and to live in material security, there is no need to base one's state on one particular religion. What is necessary is that the people shall be free, that there shall be no exploitation of man by man. (*Applause.*)

We have never attempted to force our views or our form of government on anyone. The peoples of each country can, and should, themselves decide what form of government to choose, and what ideology to adhere to. But we want to record the fact that the path chosen by our people has led to the unfolding of all their constructive energies, has created immense potentialities for the continuous progress

of their national economy and culture, and for the promotion of the welfare of the broad masses of the people.

Why has the so-called Kashmir question arisen at all? It did not arise among the people. Certain states find it to their advantage to foment animosity among the peoples of countries which are emancipating themselves from colonial oppression, which are throwing off their age-old subjection to alien oppressors. (*Applause.*)

In this, the monopolists are solely pursuing their own ends. They incite some of the peoples of these countries against others, so as to bring these countries under greater economic subjugation and make them dependent on their will.

It is hardly necessary for me to name the states which are constantly straining the Kashmir issue, for this is widely known. Nor do these states themselves particularly conceal their interest in further straining the issue.

The Kashmir question was discussed in the Security Council, and the representative of the Soviet Union clearly set forth our view, the Soviet view, on this question.

Our attitude to this question is as clear-cut and definite as it could be. The Soviet Union has always maintained that the political status of Kashmir is a matter to be decided by the people of Kashmir themselves, in accordance with the principles of democracy and in the interest of promoting friendly relations among the peoples of this area. (*Prolonged applause.*) While maintaining an impartial and objective attitude to the Kashmir issue, the Soviet Union has always expressed its sincere sympathy with the people of Kashmir and their peace-loving democratic forces, who have established friendly relations with the progressive and peace-loving forces of the Republic of India, which is fully cognizant of the national aspirations of the Kashmiri people.

The facts show that the inhabitants of Kashmir do not

want Kashmir to be a plaything of imperialist forces. (*Stormy applause.*) And this is precisely what certain powers are striving for on the pretext of supporting Pakistan's position on the Kashmir issue.

If I may, I should like to state my opinion generally concerning the division of India into two states. We, the friends of India, were grieved that the imperialist forces succeeded in dividing India into two parts: India and Pakistan. Before the Indian people won the independence of their country, India was united. It was not in the interest of the peoples of India that India was divided. But precisely for this reason, passions were kindled over the different religions of the peoples of India, though religion has never been the chief consideration when any state was established.

One might cite our country as an example. In the Soviet Union there are more than 15 million Moslems, as well as members of other religions. And despite the different faiths, the peoples of our country live in fraternal friendship. They have created, and are constantly strengthening, a united state—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, a socialist country. (*Applause.*)

Consequently, it was not the different religious faiths of the population that was the chief consideration in establishing Pakistan and separating it from the united India. Other states, who conduct their policy in accordance with the old principle of "divide and rule," had an active hand in the matter. They exploited the existence of different religions for the furtherance of their own ends.

We are firmly convinced that when passions subside and the peoples come to realize all the significance of this artificial division of the territory of India, they will regret it.

But the establishment of two separate states—India and Pakistan—is a decided issue, and I have not stated my opinion on this score so frankly in order that the ques-

tion might be re-examined in any quarter. I note it as a fact. And inasmuch as the two states exist and are developing, it is scarcely necessary now to redraw their boundaries, as certain powers would like to do. (*Applause.*) We know that changes of frontiers are always a painful process and involve bloodshed.

That Kashmir is one of the states of the Republic of India has been decided by the people of Kashmir. It is a question that the people themselves have decided. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*) I think the two sides should display greater determination to preserve peace in this area, as both India and Pakistan can develop only in conditions of peaceful co-existence. (*Applause.*)

Very good and friendly relations have developed between us and the Republic of India. (*Applause.*) They have so developed because we build our relations on the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence. We have common views on very many international issues. We adhere to a common position in condemning the formation of military blocs and military alignments of any kind. The Governments of our countries pursue a policy which helps to relax international tension and prevent war.

The independent and sovereign Republic of India is a young and growing state. What draws us together is that it is actively striving for world-wide peace.

Just as we do not interfere in the internal affairs of India, so India does not interfere in our internal affairs. (*Applause.*) The internal affairs of every state are a matter for the people of that state.

If in the Republic of India we see an ally in the effort for peace, for the peaceful settlement of outstanding issues, this, unfortunately, cannot be said of Pakistan.

Pakistan is also a young state. But we are alarmed by the policy of its rulers. The facts show that their policy is

not guided by the vital interests of their people, of their state, but is dictated by the monopoly circles of other countries. The present Government of Pakistan frankly advertises its particular closeness with American monopoly circles. (*Animation.*) It was one of the first participants in, one of the sponsors of, the notorious Baghdad pact, the aim of which is anything but peace. (*Animation.*) It has sanctioned the establishment of American military bases on its territory—that is, in close proximity to the borders of the Soviet Union.

We say frankly that the establishment of American military bases in Pakistan cannot but arouse our alarm. With the active participation of Pakistan, further efforts are now being made to enlarge the membership of the Baghdad pact. It is a regrettable fact that the Government of Iran has bowed to the imperialist forces and has acceded to this pact.

We say frankly that we never have supported and never shall support the parties to the Baghdad pact, or to any other alliance directed against the Soviet Union.

We should be politically blind if we acted otherwise. It is obvious to all that the Baghdad pact is spearheaded against the Soviet Union and other peaceable countries. It is therefore our task to weaken this belligerent alliance, one of the hotbeds of possible warlike ventures.

We sincerely want the peace-loving, independent Republic of India to grow in stature and strength. (*Stormy applause.*)

We have learned of the following unfriendly act of the Pakistan Government. The Soviet Ambassador to Pakistan was called to the Foreign Ministry and recommended that my friend, Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin, and I should give up our visit to Kashmir, decline the invitation of the chief of your state to visit Srinagar and other parts of your state. (*Burst of laughter.*)

This can only be taken as an unprecedented instance of interference in the affairs of others. Never before has a third state permitted itself to tell us where to go, and why, and what friends we should choose. (*Animation and applause.*)

We very much dislike the Baghdad pact, one of the most active participants in which is Pakistan, though without benefit to itself or its people. But we are patient and are confident that the Baghdad pact will burst like a soap bubble, and that nothing will remain of it but an unpleasant memory. (*Animation and stormy applause.*)

The representative of the Pakistan Foreign Ministry also told our Ambassador that the Pakistan Government would not like us to visit Afghanistan, a neighbour of our country. (*Animation.*) But that is already going far too far, and those who make such recommendations are taking much too much upon themselves.

Afghanistan is our good neighbour, with whom we have long maintained friendly relations. (*Applause.*) We want to develop and strengthen these relations, and we hope that our visit to Afghanistan will facilitate this. (*Applause.*)

We should very much like to have similar relations with Pakistan, and it is not our fault that such relations have so far not developed. But we shall persistently strive to improve these relations in the interest of peace.

The Soviet Union has always stood for world peace, for friendship between nations and between states. We were enjoined to follow this course unswervingly by the great Lenin. (*Stormy applause.*) And we shall follow this course undeviatingly, strengthening and extending our friendship with all states and nations.

Long live friendship and co-operation between the Republic of India and the Soviet Union! (*Prolonged applause.*)

Long live world peace! (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

SPEECH
BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
TO PEASANTS OF STATE OF PUNJAB
DELIVERED IN VILLAGE OF BHATGAON
December 12

After thanking the inhabitants of Sonapat District on his own behalf and on behalf of N. A. Bulganin for the hearty welcome given them, N. S. Khrushchov said they were very glad to be guests of the Indian peasants that day.

The Soviet Union, he noted further, had demonstrated in practice what rapid progress the peasants can make when the conditions for it are created. He conveyed to the audience, and through it to all the peasants of India, the wishes of the Soviet Union's collective-farm peasantry for the flowering of their spiritual and material forces. He emphasized that the road to the peasantry's material and spiritual advancement lies through the development of machine methods of production, through the supply of the countryside with machinery, and wished the people of India success in this work.

**RECEPTION
GIVEN BY N. A. BULGANIN
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
IN DELHI**

December 12

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Mr. President, Mr. Prime Minister, dear friends,

Our stay in India is drawing to an end. We have spent almost three weeks in your country and thanks to the opportunity kindly given to us by your Government and Mr. Nehru we have been able to see many towns and regions of India, visit many enterprises and construction sites, plantations and scientific institutions; we have been to the West and South, to the East and North of your country; we have acquainted ourselves with your people and gorgeous monuments of ancient culture and economy. For all this we are very grateful to you.

We have seen a lot of fine things during our trip. We have found out many useful things. At present I should like to touch on a point which, to my mind, is very important.

The sincerity and strength of the sentiments displayed by the Indian people for us have shown with great force that the Indian people are loyal friends of the peoples of the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) We have seen a lot with our own eyes, we came into contact with representatives from different social strata, we heard from the mouth of the people themselves about their wishes, their aspirations and what makes up their life.

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We will never forget the fine words which we heard everywhere we went: "The Indian and the Soviet peoples are brothers." (*Applause.*) These few simple words reflect the sincere desire of our peoples for friendship and co-operation.

We are deeply convinced that friendship and co-operation between our peoples are necessary not only for the happiness and prosperity of our states, they are needed also for the strengthening of peace and security. Friendship between India and the Soviet Union is a weighty contribution to peace which the enemies of peace cannot disregard. I propose a toast to the further development of friendship and co-operation between India and the Soviet Union, to the health of Prime Minister of India Jawaharlal Nehru. (*Applause.*)

SPEECH BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

When I visited the Soviet Union six months ago, I had the honour not only of meeting you and your colleagues, but to a certain extent of establishing contact with the peoples of the Soviet Union. I have learned that the Soviet people are exceptionally friendly and hospitable. I felt great sympathy for them and that is why I said at my departure that I was leaving a part of my heart in the Soviet Union. (*Applause.*) I believe that friendship always evokes friendship, and that is why the friendship which was displayed towards us by the Soviet people aroused in us sentiments of exceptional sympathy for them.

During your stay in India you have met a great number of people from different social strata, and I think you were warmly and cordially received everywhere you went. I love my people, and naturally I am biased in its favour, but I think that you also liked our people. Thus, through

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friendship we have opened a way to mutual understanding, to friendship not only between individual persons, but between the peoples.

We are always ready to expand this area of understanding and confidence in each other. (*Applause.*) You say you have often heard from the people of our country that the Soviet and the Indian peoples are brothers. This is not only a slogan, it is actually so in reality. There is an old Indian saying that all the peoples of the world are brothers. But to our regret, suspicion, fear and mistrust still poison relations between nations. These relations will develop if we succeed in removing those fears and suspicions.

I am very happy that if there was certain misunderstanding between our peoples, it has disappeared as a result of my visit to the Soviet Union and still more as a result of your visit to India. We now look confidently forward to the extension of the sphere of our co-operation not only for our mutual benefit, but in the interests of insuring world peace. Both you and we will whole-heartedly devote ourselves to this great cause. Peace is indivisible, and that is why we must strive for it everywhere, so that the violation of peace in one place will not affect the preservation of universal peace.

I hope that you will convey to your people our greetings and best wishes. Tell them what you have seen, because an eye-witness of friendship is better than any words. Millions of people in India who were very happy to see you will preserve for ever the good memories of your visit.

I hope that your visit to India is not the last, but only the first visit. We shall be always happy to receive you here. And next time our people will welcome you as good old friends.

(*In conclusion Mr. Nehru proposed a toast to the health of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN OVER ALL-INDIA RADIO

December 13

Dear friends,

I am very grateful for this opportunity to speak over the Indian radio.

Tomorrow we leave hospitable India, carrying away with us many fond and indelible memories of your country and your people. We shall never forget our friendly meetings with the people, or the hearty welcome they gave us.

We visited many towns and districts during our stay in India. We went to construction projects and factories in Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, Madras and Sindri, we saw centres of agricultural reconstruction, a number of scientific institutions, and wonderful gems of ancient architecture. We also acquainted ourselves with the life and work of your multi-national people, and with their art.

What made the biggest and most unforgettable impression on us was the people, their enthusiasm and energy, their buoyant youth, their talent and industry, their unswerving desire for peace and co-operation with all peace-loving nations. Everywhere we went, the Indian people met us with hospitality and cordiality. We saw, everywhere, an expression of sincere and ardent friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We have visited your country at a very important time

In its history, when, after a long period of colonial oppression, the Indian people have gained the right to shape their own destiny.

In her few years of political freedom India has made great progress. India now plays a big role in the settlement of major international problems.

As we have seen for ourselves, the Indian people also have registered big achievements in advancing their economy, in industrial development.

The friendly relations established between our countries make it possible to promote all-round economic, scientific and cultural co-operation. We are always ready to share our scientific and technical experience, our experience in construction, should India require it.

Our visit to India has helped to reach agreement on a number of major problems pertaining to the continued expansion of economic, scientific and technical co-operation between our countries. It has enabled us to continue our talks with Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister, and to establish contact with other leaders of the Indian state. This personal contact has reaffirmed that our countries have a common aim: to live in friendship, to preserve and consolidate world peace, to promote among the nations confidence in their morrow.

You well know that the relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India are built on a solid and reliable basis, on the Five Principles, *Panch Shila*.

The Soviet Union steadfastly adheres to the Leninist principles of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other states and non-interference in their internal affairs.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India are a graphic example of friendship and co-operation between states with different political systems.

Our exchange of views with Mr. Nehru and a number of other Indian government leaders has shown that the Government of the Soviet Union and the Government of India have full understanding on all questions of Soviet-Indian relations, and also that their opinions concur on many major international problems. We are confident that the good-neighbourly relations and friendship between our countries will grow and strengthen. This will exercise a beneficial influence both on the development of our countries and on the consolidation of world peace.

In conclusion, I should like to note the exceptionally warm welcome given us in India, in every town and district we visited. I should like once again to thank your Government, and Prime Minister Nehru personally, who did everything to make our stay in your country as pleasant and useful as possible.

I should like also to thank the governments and authorities in the states and cities we visited for the splendid organization of our tour and for their warm welcome.

I also express our sincere gratitude to the public organizations and citizens who warmly welcomed us and sent us sincere, heartfelt greetings. I deeply regret that time did not permit us to answer all the friendly invitations and greetings.

Once again my hearty thanks to you, our dear friends. Good-bye!

**SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
OVER ALL-INDIA RADIO
December 13**

Our dear friends,

Citizens and citizenesses of the Republic of India,

We have been in your country for more than three weeks, during which we have visited many states, towns and villages, acquainting ourselves with India's splendid people and her rich and ancient culture.

We were deeply moved and touched by the friendly and most heartfelt reception given us, as representatives of the Soviet Union, both by the leaders of the Republic of India and by her people. This is something we shall never forget.

We had known of the Indian people's friendly feelings for the Soviet Union, but what we have seen and felt here surpassed all our expectations. They were indescribable meetings; it is hard to find words to express the feelings that welled up in our hearts.

In all the towns and villages we visited we heard and read mottoes of welcome in honour of the friendship between India and the Soviet Union. And most frequently of all we heard those simple words, coming straight from the heart, "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'il*"

These words particularly moved us, for they fully express our feelings as well, the feelings of the peoples of the Soviet

Union towards the peoples of India. Yes, our peoples are brothers, brothers always, in easy times and in hard times.

The friendship between our peoples is a great, historic gain. It should be prized and strengthened to the utmost, for it is to the benefit of both our peoples.

We are eager to promote to the utmost the historical friendship between our countries which is growing stronger all the time. We realize, however, that to uphold universal peace friendship must be promoted not only with one nation, even though a great one, but with all nations. It is essential that friendship among all the nations of the world should constantly grow and broaden. This is what the peace-loving peoples of all countries and continents so sincerely and fervently desire. And we shall contribute in every way to that great and noble goal.

We hope that the development of friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union will serve the cause of continued peace throughout the world and the development of our countries.

Industrial development is essential for the swift advancement of your country's economy. Without one's own national industry it is impossible to assure genuine state independence. We know that well from our own experience.

We have visited a number of Indian national factories and mills, including large industrial establishments, and the construction sites of hydro-electric stations. With what pride our Indian friends showed us all that!

We understand this pride, for in those establishments one can see the contours of India's future powerful industry, bulwark of her independence, of her national might.

In order to build such an industry you need your own, national cadres, particularly cadres of engineers and technicians. These cadres are growing in your country. We

saw young engineers and technicians, skilled builders, who have sprung from the ranks of India's intellectuals. They are burning with a desire to work for the welfare of their country.

But in order that you should have more such people we are ready to share with you our knowledge and the experience we have accumulated, so that your country might accomplish the complex and difficult task of building your own industry more quickly than our country did.

The reason we say this to you is not because we want to tell you what to do. No, we want to give the people of India, the Republic of India disinterested aid because we wish the free and sovereign Republic of India to develop and grow stronger.

The Soviet Union and India are following different paths of development. Our stand has always been that a country's path of development is exclusively an internal matter for its peoples.

Our relations with other states are based on the Five Principles, which are now shared by many countries. Peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems is now an indisputable fact.

During our stay in India we have received a great number of warm greetings and invitations to visit many Indian towns and districts. We regret that the comparative briefness of our stay in your country prevented us from accepting them all. I should therefore like to take advantage of this occasion to thank all our friends in India—all those we met and those we regrettably were unable to meet—for their friendly words of welcome and their kind wishes.

We shall be glad to have any number of our Indian friends visit our own country. Visit us, see how we live and work, acquaint yourselves with our experience. You will always meet with a most cordial reception from our people. Mutual

exchange of delegations will promote a further consolidation of the friendship between our peoples.

Once again we express our gratitude to the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, and to the Government of India for the honour of visiting your splendid country, for the opportunity to see for ourselves your country and your industrious and talented people.

Good-bye, dear friends, until new friendly meetings!

**MEETING
OF N. A. BULGANIN
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
WITH INDIAN M.P.'S,
MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION
FOR PROMOTION OF HINDI LANGUAGE
*December 13***

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Dear friends,

Allow me to thank you with all my heart on my own behalf and on behalf of Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin for your warm and heartfelt reception. We greet your association and consider its work to be highly useful and fruitful for the Indian people and their cultural advancement.

I must tell you frankly that before we came to your country we did not know it well enough. And we felt this most keenly when we arrived here. Our stay in India, brief as it has been, has helped us to fill in this gap to a considerable extent.

N. A. Bulganin and I have discussed the question of doing everything possible on returning from India so that Soviet people might have greater opportunities to learn the Indian languages, Hindi in the first place, and we promise you that we shall do this.

In order to know one another better, in order fully to develop economic and cultural ties between our countries, it is important to have direct contact, and a third language

as a means of communication between our two great peoples can hardly be acceptable for long. We shall see to it that an educational institution is opened in our country in which our best and most gifted youth could learn Hindi and other Indian languages. This will help to promote still better understanding between our peoples and make it possible for us to know one another better.

The British and American newspaper correspondents have been greatly annoyed with N. A. Bulganin and myself for our public speeches in your country and in Burma opposing the colonial regime. They have no cause for offence. I do not think that there is anything in what we have said against colonialism that could cause antagonism between peoples. Our speeches must be understood as a denunciation of colonial robbery and the colonial order. If some people do not like what we said, that is purely a matter for their own conscience, but we are against colonialism and we shall continue to say so always and everywhere.

We have no wish to incite anyone against the United States of America and Britain, nor do we intend to quarrel with them ourselves. The Soviet Union wants to live in friendship with those countries. But that does not mean that we should hide the truth, that we should tell everyone, including the advocates of the colonial regime, only what they want to hear. Can we say that the centuries of British rule in India have been of benefit to the Indian people? We could never say such a thing. It would be a crime to say that.

We speak of colonialism as an historical fact. I am surprised that our statements against colonialism, especially against the continuation of the colonial domination by Portugal of Goa and other Portuguese possessions on Indian territory have prompted certain statesmen in the United States to come out in support of the Portuguese colonialists, on the grounds that these possessions have been held by Portugal

for nearly 400 years. No matter how many years have passed, stolen property remains stolen property and should be returned to its rightful owner. Stolen property ought to be returned and, what is more, with interest. That is, of course, if one has a conscience. (*Stormy applause.*)

I should like to dwell on one other question. If I am not mistaken, the population of the Republic of India is 370 million. India thus has the second largest population in the world after China. This makes India one of the most powerful states on earth. (*Applause.*) The literature and art of the Indian people are on a very high level. India is one of the most ancient seats of world civilization. The talent of the Indian people and their cultural level are reflected in the many historical monuments which one can find in any corner of India. Many of these structures were erected several thousand years ago. All this testifies to the greatness of India and her people. But hitherto India has not officially been considered one of the great world powers. It is customary to count among the Great Powers the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain, France and China. For that matter, some Western politicians would like to deprive China too of the right to be considered a Great Power. Absurd as it is, in speaking of China they usually imply the Chiang Kai-shek clique entrenched on Taiwan Island. And so, the five countries I mentioned are considered Great Powers. Looking at it objectively, however, the question naturally arises: why is India not considered a great country? Evidently because the colonialists want to belittle your country and your people. To recognize India as a Great Power would mean altering their position. But we believe that India is a Great Power and that she ought to rank among the leading Great Powers of the world. (*Stormy applause.*)

Here is something else I should like to say. N. A. Bulganin and myself are being accused by some people of setting the

East in opposition to the West. That, of course, is a downright invention. Our country represents both Europe and Asia. We have always been against setting any part of the world in opposition to another, against the domination of any continent by another. (*Applause.*)

We want all nations to be independent and to develop as they wish; we want them to promote their economy and culture in every way and to live in peace and friendship. (*Applause.*)

We wish you success. We, for our part, will do everything in our power that the friendship between our peoples, between our two countries, may grow stronger and flourish. (*Stormy applause.*)

**PRESS CONFERENCE GIVEN
BY N. A. BULGANIN
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
IN DELHI
December 14**

On December 14 N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, held a press conference for Indian, Soviet and other correspondents in Delhi. More than 150 journalists representing leading Indian, Soviet and other agencies and newspapers were present.

N. A. Bulganin made the following statement.

STATEMENT AT PRESS CONFERENCE

We came to India on a visit of friendship at the invitation of the Indian Government. Our visit to India, like the friendly visit to the U.S.S.R. of Mr. Nehru last June, is of major significance for the further improvement of the friendly relations between our countries and for world peace.

You already know of the Joint Soviet-Indian Declaration signed yesterday which sets forth the views of the statesmen of the Soviet Union and India on the most important aspects of the relations between the two countries, and on cardinal international issues. This declaration is not only highly important in strengthening further the friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India; it is of great international significance as well.

During our stay in India we have visited a number of towns and regions, big construction projects, industrial enterprises in Bombay, Calcutta, Bangalore, and Madras, agricultural reconstruction centres and scientific institutions, and have seen some remarkable monuments of ancient architecture. We have acquainted ourselves with the life and activities of the multi-national Indian people, with the progress they have made during the years of independence, and have formed some idea of the vast natural resources and the potentialities of India. We have been most profoundly and unforgettably impressed by the great Indian people, their buoyant children and youth, their talent and industry, their unswerving desire for peace and friendly co-operation with all countries. Wherever we went, we met with the hospitality and cordiality of the Indian people, evidence of their deep regard and friendship for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We were also greatly impressed by what the Indian people are doing to develop their national economy, especially their efforts to advance industry, which is the foundation of economic progress, the prime guarantee of the independence of any country. The construction undertakings in the Damodar Valley and at Bhakra-Nangal, the projected construction of iron and steel mills, and the drafting of a new five-year plan are undoubtedly important measures undertaken by the Indian Government for the development of the country's economy.

India has all the conditions for the successful development of her national economy: vast natural resources, huge areas of fertile land and, what is most important, the inexhaustible creative forces of the talented and hard-working Indian people, who have built undying cultural monuments in the course of their long history. We Soviet people, who have some experience in economic planning, have formed the

opinion that India, with her present striving for economic development and for the full utilization of her material resources and manpower, will be able in a short time substantially to increase agricultural and industrial production and thereby considerably raise the living standards of her people.

The friendly relations that have been established between our peoples create favourable conditions for close economic, scientific and cultural co-operation between our two countries. The Soviet Union, as we have already said, is prepared to share its experience in the sphere of science and engineering on mutually advantageous conditions, to share its experience in economic planning and the construction of industrial enterprises and hydro-technical installations. It would also be glad to learn from the experience which the Indian people have accumulated in various branches of economy, science and culture. We believe that the expansion of cultural ties between India and the Soviet Union will serve to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our countries. We are happy to note that as a result of our visit to India and the talks we have had with Mr. Nehru and other Indian leaders agreement has been reached on a number of important questions connected with the further expansion of economic co-operation between the Soviet Union and India.

Our stay in India has left us with the firm conviction that the people of India are resolutely striving for peace and are ready to work vigorously for the maintenance and consolidation of peace. India is playing an increasingly important role in deciding international problems and establishing friendly relations between states. There is not a single serious problem in Asia—and not only in Asia—that can be settled today without the participation of India and the Chinese People's Republic. A striking

example of the active and fruitful participation of India and the Chinese People's Republic in settling international issues is the part they played in bringing about the termination of the war in Indo-China, and also their active participation in the work of the Bandung Conference, which played an outstanding role in reducing international tension and promoting co-operation among the Asian and African countries.

The Soviet Union and India are building and will continue to build their relations on the basis of the famous Five Principles of peaceful co-existence, inasmuch as these principles accord with the interests of all peace-loving nations, the interests of peace. These principles fully conform to the foreign policy which the Soviet Government has pursued ever since the inception of the Soviet state. They have already been endorsed by a number of countries and formed the basis of the decisions of the Bandung Conference. The acceptance of these principles by all other countries, including the United States, Britain and France, would be an important step towards further relaxation of international tension and the establishment of the necessary confidence among nations. As for the Soviet Union, it always has pursued and will pursue a policy of peace and respect for the sovereign rights of nations, a policy of non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, a policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social and political systems. This policy is determined by the very nature of the Soviet state, which has invariably and consistently pursued a policy of peace.

We all know that there are many very pressing Far Eastern problems that still await solution. For one thing, the Indo-China problem can be fully and finally settled only on the basis of the decisions of the Geneva Conference on Indo-China. There must be no further delay in settling

the important question of granting the Chinese People's Republic its rightful place in the United Nations, the question of Taiwan and the other coastal islands—inalienable parts of C.P.R.'s territory—in accordance with the national rights of the Chinese people.

The Government of the Soviet Union has always been opposed to the organization of diverse military blocs in various parts of the world and to the creation of military bases on the territories of other states, inasmuch as the setting up of such blocs and bases constitutes a serious threat to peace and raises additional obstacles to the reduction of international tension and the consolidation of peace. We believe that genuine security of the nations can be ensured not by setting up military blocs, but by the joint, collective efforts of states aimed at strengthening peace. It is this that prompted the Soviet Government to submit its proposal to establish a system of collective security in Europe.

The present arms drive and the continued production and stockpiling of atomic and hydrogen weapons are a danger to peace and weigh heavily on the shoulders of the working people, who bear all the burden of military expenditure. We know that reduction of armaments, the full and unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons are an urgent task confronting the states at the present time, and primarily the Great Powers. Until agreement is reached on this score, the Soviet Union will naturally be obliged to continue to concern itself with strengthening its own defence capacity and to produce atomic and hydrogen weapons. Under the circumstances we have no alternative.

We take leave of the hospitable land of India, filled with gratitude to the Indian people, their Government and the administration of the states we visited for the exceptionally warm reception we were accorded everywhere. This

hospitable reception is evidence of the genuinely friendly feelings the Indian people cherish for the peoples of the Soviet Union. We assure our Indian friends that our Soviet people cherish the same warm feelings for the great people of India. We take this opportunity to convey hearty fraternal greetings to all the people of India from the people of the Soviet Union.

We trust that the friendship and co-operation between our two countries will continue steadily to grow stronger and broader to the benefit of our peoples and in the interests of world peace.

Summing up the results of our tour and the impressions we carry away with us, I should like to dwell on two more questions which, for reasons we well understand, deeply affect the Indian people. We refer to the question of the Indian territory of Goa, unlawfully held by Portugal, and the so-called Kashmir problem.

In our public speeches in the course of our tour we have stated the position of the Soviet Union on these questions. The Soviet Union resolutely advocates the abolition of the remnants of the moribund colonial system. It believes that the peoples inhabiting territories unlawfully seized and brutally exploited for many decades by colonialists must themselves decide their own destinies.

It is common knowledge that Goa is Indian territory. Everyone knows that the population of that territory is bound by inseparable ties of kinship with their Indian motherland and cannot endure to be severed from her. We are convinced that this question will be settled in favour of the Indian people whether the colonialists want it or not. The colonialists will have to get out of territory that does not belong to them.

As for Kashmir, during our visit there we saw how greatly the Kashmirians rejoice in their national liberation,

regarding their territory as an integral part of the Republic of India. And we are deeply convinced that the people of Kashmir will solve all their problems without outside interference. That question will be decided according to the wishes of the peoples of Kashmir themselves.

We believe that this statement will provide the answer to the many questions we have received yesterday and today from journalists. There were a great many of these questions. They could be divided into several groups.

Firstly, many of you are interested in a number of concrete aspects of Soviet-Indian economic co-operation, in the prospects of this co-operation, the spheres of economy it will extend to, etc. To this we may say that we are negotiating on this score with the Government of India at the present time. The initial results of these negotiations are known to you from the Joint Indo-Soviet Communiqué signed yesterday concerning economic relations between India and the U.S.S.R. We may also declare that there exist good grounds for the development of our economic relations on the basis of mutual respect and mutual benefit.

Secondly, many non-Indian journalists are asking with assumed alarm whether the U.S.S.R. intends to make the strengthening and development of its friendly relations with India conditional on India's rejection of business co-operation with the United States and other Western countries. Only those who are interested in sowing distrust between India and the Soviet Union could put the question thus. We have said and we repeat that we are for peaceful co-operation and friendship with all countries, the United States, Britain and France included. The fear that Indo-Soviet friendship might jeopardize the relations of India or the Soviet Union with other states is utterly groundless.

Thirdly, many correspondents want to know what are the further prospects of international relations. Some of them express concern at the fact that certain circles—which circles, you know yourselves—have begun to assert that the Geneva spirit is dead, that the time has come to renew the “cold war” at full force, and so on.

You see yourselves that there are some who are trying to return to the “cold war” in connection with our visit to India and Burma and our forthcoming visit to Afghanistan. The things your irresponsible colleagues have been writing about our speeches! The garbled accounts they have given of them! But we Soviet people do not suffer from a lack of sang-froid. Abuse gets one nowhere. We calmly ignore such outpourings. “Dirt doesn’t stick to the clean,” as the saying goes.

As regards the substance of this question, we believe that the spirit of Geneva, which arose as a result of the fruitful meeting of the Heads of the Four Great Powers in Geneva last summer, has played a beneficent role and cannot be buried. We are for continuing and deepening international co-operation, for peaceful co-existence of all countries. And if the recent conference of the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers in Geneva did not yield the results which the nations of the world expected of it, that, as we have said, was only because the situation was evidently not yet ripe. It shows that some Powers have not yet abandoned the “position of strength” policy long since condemned. It must be said with all firmness that so long as this position is adhered to, negotiations cannot yield any results.

At any rate the Soviet delegation at the Geneva Conference, as you know, submitted a good number of important and practicable proposals on the questions of collective security, reduction of armaments and prohibition of atomic

weapons, expansion of international contacts, etc. It is therefore not our fault if no agreement has yet been reached. We shall continue to spare no effort for the settlement of these vital issues.

In the same connection many correspondents ask whether the time has not come to call a new conference of the Heads of the Great Powers, after the pattern of the Geneva Conference, to discuss the most important of the Far Eastern problems. We believe that this idea is worth supporting. Of course, such a conference could produce favourable results only if all its participants cast aside the notorious "positions of strength" policy in examining the questions at issue. It goes without saying that the Chinese People's Republic and India should take part in such a conference.

We have received many questions concerning disarmament. We do not think it necessary to give once again a detailed exposition of our position on this question. It is sufficiently well known to you. The Soviet proposals on disarmament, submitted this year to the United Nations, open the way to a speedy and effective solution of the problem. And were it not for the sudden change in the position of the United States, which unexpectedly went back on its own earlier proposals, the solution of these problems might have been in sight. Some correspondents put the question thus: would the Soviet Union not agree to unilaterally reduce its own armaments to set an example to its Western partners?

We think you will agree that this is hardly a serious approach to the question.

How can the Soviet Union agree to unilateral disarmament at a time when our partners in the negotiations not only evince no intention of reducing their own armed forces, but, on the contrary, declare openly that they intend to build up their armaments still more? Under these circum-

stances, to undertake unilateral disarmament would be stupid and harmful not only for the Soviet Union but for all the peace-loving nations.

We are for disarmament on the clear and definite condition that our partners agree to disarm with us. We are for prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons if our partners are prepared to do this simultaneously with us. We are for establishing strict international control over the carrying out of these measures provided there is a realistic approach to the solution of this task.

The fourth group of questions concerns the internal affairs of the Soviet Union. We appreciate the interest shown by Indian public opinion in the life of our country. In this connection we would be glad to see the Indian press represented by permanent correspondents in Moscow, as some of you have suggested here. We do not think it would be hard to solve the technical problems which are said to complicate the presence of permanent Indian correspondents in the U.S.S.R. at the present time. Judging by the questions put to us, India, like a number of other foreign countries, still lacks objective information about our life, about the specific aspects of our economic, social and political system.

For instance, it is asked: why is there only one party in the U.S.S.R.? This question evidently springs from a lack of understanding of the fundamentals of our socialist society.

As you know, it is in the nature of the bourgeois class state to have many parties; parties reflect and uphold the interests of their respective classes, and each class naturally has a party of its own. In the Soviet Union, as a result of the victory of socialism, an entirely new, socialist society has been established, in which there are no antagonistic classes, no groups whose interests might clash and conflict.

Today we have a homogeneous society, a society which is strong by virtue of its unity and solidarity.

Pre-revolutionary, tsarist Russia had many parties.

There was a party of the capitalists, a party of the landlords, a kulak party which ambitiously called itself the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, and a party of the working class, the Bolshevik Party, founded by the great Lenin. This party was able to rally the working class to the struggle against the capitalists and landlords, against the tsarist regime. It was able to secure the alliance of the working class and the peasantry. This Party was able to win to the side of the working class the progressive intelligentsia, and under its leadership the Great October Socialist Revolution was carried out, the exploiting classes were defeated and abolished, and a new, socialist society was built. Now the Soviet people are successfully building a communist society. Whom could a party of capitalists and landlords represent today in the Soviet Union? We have no capitalists or landlords, and hence the question of having such a party cannot even arise. Whom could a kulak party represent today in our country? With the establishment of the collective-farm system, we put an end for ever to the old economic system in the countryside which daily and hourly gave rise to capitalism. Our young people today know about the kulaks only from books and from the accounts of people of the older generation.

Soviet society is a society of working people, of the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. As has been recorded in the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., the Communist Party is the vanguard of the working people in their struggle for the construction of a communist society, the leading force of all the working people's organizations, both public and state.

Such is our society and such our system. We do not seek

to impose it upon anyone, but, frankly speaking, we believe that it is the best system. There are people who try to make it appear as if the spread of communist ideas all over the world is the result of some sort of intrigues on the part of the U.S.S.R., yet everybody knows that long before the October Revolution communism existed in Europe and the communist doctrine founded by Marx and Engels had struck root in the toiling masses.

In this connection we would like to dwell also on another question put to us by some correspondents—concerning the Information Bureau of Communist Parties, or Cominform, as it is sometimes called. The activities of this organization to which the Communist Parties of a number of European countries belong and whose aim it is to exchange information and experience in the struggle of the working class for emancipation, worry all those who would like to perpetuate the old system of exploitation of man by man, which has outlived its time.

Sometimes the question is put thus: Is there no way of abolishing the Cominform? But, after all, why should the Communist Parties deprive themselves of this generally accepted form of international contact and co-operation? Why, for instance, do those who seek the abolition of the Cominform not object to the activities of the Socialist International, which unites the Social-Democratic Parties? Why should they consider it natural and legitimate for capitalists to unite in international monopoly combines and meet regularly in order jointly to transact their business, while denying the working class the right to give effect to the great slogan of international solidarity, "Workers of all countries, unite!" proclaimed by Marx and Engels and corresponding to the vital interests of all the working people?

We have always stood and always will stand for the strengthening and development of international co-operation

of the working class in defence of the vital interests of all working people, and in the struggle for peace.

The Communist Parties, which stand guard over the interests of the working class and all working people, follow the most progressive and humane of all teachings—the teaching of Marxism-Leninism, the application of which in the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies has so brilliantly proved its worth.

This teaching is spreading more and more over the whole world. We are against any “export of revolution,” as Lenin said, for to speak of anything of the kind would be unscientific. Progressive ideas inevitably make their own way and triumph over old, outdated ideas. Thus it has always been, thus it will be in the development of human society.

Such are the remarks we wished to make in connection with your questions.

Allow me in conclusion to thank you for your attention.
Good-bye.

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At the close of the press conference N. S. Khrushchov thanked the Indian journalists for their impartial and truthful reporting of the visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov to India, and observed that such unbiased reporting serves to strengthen friendly relations between India and the Soviet Union.

**DEPARTURE
OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
FROM INDIA
December 14**

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN AT PALAM AIRFIELD

Mr. Prime Minister, friends,

The time has come for us to leave your hospitable land.

We have seen and learned a great many fine things during our tour of India. It is hard to describe the wealth of impressions we have obtained in the course of our eventful visit. Most unforgettable of all were our meetings with the people of India, who gave such a sincere expression of their friendly feelings for the Soviet Union. We shall tenderly cherish these friendly feelings in our hearts.

In the course of our visit we have seen something of India's past, the unforgettable monuments of your ancient culture, created by the skilled hands of Indian craftsmen.

We have seen your present too—your towns and rural localities, and the efforts which the people and the Government of India are devoting to the development of your industry and agriculture.

We wish you success with all our heart.

The most important result of our visit to India is that it will strengthen and promote still further the friendship between our nations. The friendship of the Indian and Soviet peoples is a great historical achievement.

Personal contact between our Governments, which began with the visit of Prime Minister Nehru to the Soviet Union,

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has been deepened and consolidated by our visit to India. During our stay here we have had extremely useful talks with Mr. Nehru and other members of the Government of the Republic of India. These talks were conducted in an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship.

The Joint Declaration which was signed yesterday is a document of great historical significance. It is an important contribution to the cause of peace.

Permit me to express to you, Mr. Prime Minister, and to the Government of India and all the Indian people our most profound gratitude for your hospitality and your affection for us.

Long live Indian-Soviet friendship!

Good-bye!

Namastel

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Dear friends,

In a few minutes we shall leave the capital of the country of the great Indian people.

The reception we have been accorded by the Government and the people of India has been exceptionally warm and cordial. I wish once again to express my gratitude and appreciation to the esteemed Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, the President of the Republic of India, Mr. Prasad, the Government of India and the great Indian people for the courtesy and kindness shown us throughout our stay in India.

In the course of our visits to the different towns and states of India we constantly heard many kind, ardent words about the friendship between our peoples. This friendship will continue to grow ever stronger, for it is surely one of the sources of strength for world peace.

We are happy that our visit to the Republic of India

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has served this noble cause. But our trip and our talks with the leaders of India would not have yielded such tangible and valuable results had we not met with the necessary understanding on the part of our Indian friends.

The identity of the views of India and the Soviet Union on the further strengthening of friendship between our two countries and on major international issues has found expression in the Joint Soviet-Indian Declaration signed yesterday. Dear friends, when Mr. Nehru, on the termination of his tour of the Soviet Union, took leave of our country and its people he said that he had left a part of his heart in our country. And now as we take leave of you, of the great people of India, I realize how true are these simple but profound words. Part of my heart, too, will remain here in India. And in my heart there has grown and become firmly rooted an ardent love for India and her people. We are happy to have gained so many great, good friends here; we are happy that the friendship between our two countries has become stronger than ever.

Never has the friendship of our peoples and countries been darkened by enmity or conflict. And we are deeply convinced that it never will be. We shall do everything in our power to foster the friendship between the peoples of our countries so that it may be eternal and unbreakable.

Good-bye, dear friends! Till we meet again!

Namastel

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The speeches by N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov were repeatedly interrupted by stormy applause. Their concluding words were drowned in enthusiastic cheers of "Bulganin and Khrushchov *zindabad!*" (Long live Bulganin and Khrushchov!), "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'i!*" (Indians and Russians are brothers!)

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SPEECH BY JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

"Eminent guests, dear friends,

"A short while ago Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchov first set foot on Indian soil. Today these guests are leaving our country. The last few days which they have spent here are a great historic event, and many pages of our history will be devoted to those days."

Nehru went on to say that India had entered a new stage of her life. He said: "What is our goal? Our goal is to achieve progress for our country and our common people, and to live in friendship and harmony with others. World peace is very essential, very important for the attainment of that goal. It is also quite indispensable that our relations with the great country which is our neighbour should be close relations based on friendship and co-operation."

Referring to the speeches made by N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov the day before, Nehru continued: "Yesterday you said that friendship between India and the Soviet Union was not directed against any other country. We wish to be friendly with each and every country, in order that the range of our friendship may expand and that co-operation and peace may prosper. What friendship can there be if it envisages hostility to others? We must be friendly with all, and we hold out our hand to all. For this reason, our rapprochement with that great country—the Soviet Union—is very important. But it does not imply that we are moving away from any other country. That is not so now, nor will it be so in the future. We have always desired, and we desire now, co-operation between the countries of the world with a view to promoting universal peace."

The Prime Minister further said that a free and frank exchange of ideas was an important element of friendship between India and the Soviet Union. "The importance of

this friendship," he said, "lies in the fact that we respect each other's ideas and methods, although sometimes we may hold different views or go different ways. The cause of world peace will be promoted if we show tolerance to each other and strive for co-operation between all countries. Thus we are setting an example of friendship with all countries, using their experience and following our own course. This is what *Panch Shila* stands for."

With reference to the Joint Declaration, Nehru said: "If you read that document carefully you will see that it contains nothing indicative of hostility towards anyone. It is a document of friendship and co-operation between India and the Soviet Union." He said that both India and the Soviet Union desired peace all over the world and wanted to march towards peace, that they desired major problems to be settled by peaceful means. "Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchov have just described this document as a historic one. It clearly marks a rapprochement between the two countries. This is a very important matter."

"During their tour," Nehru continued, "the Soviet leaders have seen many old and new aspects of India. They have looked into the hearts of millions of Indians." Addressing N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov he said, "you had a chance to get an idea not only of the old times but of the desires of our people today and of the fact that we want to see them fulfilled."

"On behalf of the Government of India, on my own behalf, and on behalf of our people I thank the Soviet leaders for having come here and voiced their friendship towards the Indian people. I should also like to thank them for having expressed their readiness to help us in various ways and to promote friendship between our countries. The last few days will be memorable not only to me. India will likewise remember them long."

In conclusion Mr. Nehru said: "I want you to take with you a valuable thing—India's message of affection for your people. До свидания!"

* * *

Nehru uttered the words До свидания (Good-bye) in Russian. His warm farewell to the Soviet guests drew stormy applause and cheers from those gathered to see them off.

**TELEGRAM
TO RAJENDRA PRASAD,
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA**

Esteemed Mr. President,

We express once again our sincere gratitude to you for the warm and heartfelt reception given us by you personally and by the great people of India.

We wish good health to you and prosperity to the Republic of India.

**N. BULGANIN
N. KHRUSHCHOV**

December 14, 1955

**TELEGRAM
TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
PRIME MINISTER OF THE REPUBLIC
OF INDIA**

As we cross the border of your country we express once again our deep gratitude to you personally, esteemed Mr. Nehru, to the Government of the Republic of India, and to the entire Indian people for the warm and heartfelt reception given us.

It is our wish that the Republic of India should grow stronger all the time, and that friendship between our states, between our great peoples, should grow and expand.

**N. BULGANIN
N. KHRUSHCHOV**

December 14, 1955

**MESSAGE
OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA,
TO N. A. BULGANIN
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV**

I am deeply grateful to you for the message you sent me while crossing the border of our country. Your tour of India was a historic event which has left indelible impressions in the minds of our people. We, who were in close contact with you during your short stay here, are saddened by your departure. We hope, however, that both our personal friendship and friendship between our states will grow and bear rich fruit for the great cause of world peace and co-operation.

I send you best wishes from my people and myself.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

**RETURN
OF N. A. BULGANIN AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV
TO MOSCOW
December 21**

RALLY OF THE PEOPLE OF MOSCOW

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

Comrades, dear friends,

Allow me first of all to express our heartfelt thanks for this exceptionally warm and stirring welcome.

We have returned home from our month's tour of three friendly countries, India, Burma and Afghanistan, full of memorable impressions. The biggest impression of all was made on us by the tremendous love and sincerest respect which the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan entertain for our country, for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We accepted the invitations of the respective Governments to visit India, Burma and Afghanistan because we had a clear and simple aim: to strengthen still further the friendship and co-operation that had been established between those countries and the Soviet Union.

We endeavoured to carry out this task with credit, firmly convinced that strong friendship between the peoples of our countries will benefit the nations and serve the cause of world peace. I think it was a useful trip which will bring positive results.

I lack words to express the heartiness, the enthusiasm, we felt on the part of the great people of India. This was a manifestation of the brotherly, exceptionally heartfelt love of the peoples of India for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We were very warmly received by the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, and his colleagues.

In the cities of India, hundreds of thousands of people, millions, in fact, came out to welcome us. And everywhere we went we heard and read these simple words, coming straight from the hearts of the Indian people:

"Friendship for ever!"

"Long live the friendship of the peoples of India and the Soviet Union!"

"Russians and Indians are brothers!"

That was the voice of the great people of India.

And we said to them: yes, we are brothers! Brothers not only in days of peace but in hard times as well. We are brothers in the struggle for a better future for mankind, in the struggle for peace throughout the world!

In Burma and Afghanistan both the people and their leaders met us with the same friendliness and hospitality. True, the meetings there were not so large as in India, but there was the same ardent love of the peoples for the Soviet Union, for our great Soviet people.

When we saw this brotherly love of the Asian peoples for our country, we thought of Moscow, and in our mind's eye there arose a picture of that great titan, the Soviet people, a people of heroes, a people of builders. It is to them, the Soviet people, that our country owes its greatness. It is they, the Soviet people, who, led by their Communist Party, have raised our country to such a height and transformed it from backward Russia into the most advanced and mighty power in the world. It is they, the Soviet people, who built socialism, thus embodying mankind's dream in the life and affairs of our Homeland.

Our hearts overflowed with pride that we were sons of the great Soviet people, its envoys and servants.

In our speeches in India, Burma and Afghanistan we

exposed the criminal policy of the colonialists, whose long years of rule in those countries caused the peoples tremendous damage and greatly hindered their economic development.

The peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan approved of what we said, for we spoke the truth.

But what furious hatred did our words draw from certain public figures in bourgeois countries, and particularly from reactionary newspapers and magazines!

This hatred is fully understandable. The colonial system is collapsing. It has already gone bankrupt in Asia. In many countries—the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, the Republic of India, the Union of Burma, and others—the people have freed themselves from the colonial regime and are consolidating their national independence.

This is to say nothing of our great friend and brother, the Chinese people, who, under the leadership of their Communist Party, have expelled from their land for all time the colonialists who tormented them. The Chinese people have defeated their internal enemies, and firmly taken the path of building socialism.

That is a blow from which the world system of colonialism will never recover.

The colonial regimes are a disgrace to mankind today. We have said that and we shall never stop reiterating it as long as colonialists exist.

Comrades, dear friends, there are many things I should like to tell you about our big and very eventful tour.

But that cannot be done in a single speech—a speech, moreover, made when we have just arrived in Moscow.

We met all kinds of people, members of all classes.

The workers, peasants and intellectuals sincerely admire our country's achievements and heartily endorse them.

In noting our country's successes, everybody, without exception, expressed their admiration for the achievements of the Soviet Union. They spoke with approval of our country's foreign policy of peace and the Soviet Government's efforts to preserve and consolidate world peace.

In India's 370 millions, and also in the peoples of Burma and Afghanistan, we have allies in the struggle for world peace.

India is a big and good friend of our country. Like the Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic, India is a convinced champion of peace.

And India, China and the Soviet Union, as Lenin taught us, are an invincible force.

Comrades, our trip to India, Burma and Afghanistan took place at a time when the entire Soviet Land has been preparing to meet the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a worthy manner.

We approach the 20th Party Congress with big successes both in the further consolidation of the Soviet socialist state and in the strengthening of our country's international position. But that does not give us any right to rest content.

Our task is to develop our national economy, and particularly its foundation, heavy industry, to the utmost, to assure a continued advance in all branches of agriculture, to strengthen the friendship among the peoples of our country and the moral and political unity of all the members of our socialist society.

We are marching along the right road to our great goal: the building of communism in our country.

Long live our great Communist Party, the inspirer and organizer of all our victories!

Long live our Soviet Homeland, bulwark of the peace and security of nations! (*Stormy applause.*)

SPEECH BY N. A. BULGANIN

Dear comrades,

Words cannot describe how happy we are to see our beloved Moscow again and to meet you, dear friends!

I thank you deeply for this warm and heartfelt welcome.

Our tour, a splendid tour in all respects, lasted more than a month. Of course, one month is not enough to gain a good knowledge of India, Burma and Afghanistan, of all aspects of life in these countries, particularly in such a great country as India. For all that, we saw and learned much.

As you know, we visited the capitals of these countries, Delhi, Rangoon and Kabul, and also many of the biggest towns, industrial districts and construction projects, agricultural establishments, and educational, medical and research institutions. We met and talked with statesmen and with members of various sections and classes of society. We had meetings with the people, with millions of ordinary people, with intellectuals, with workers in factory and field. They all expressed their warmest and most sincere feelings towards us. They welcomed us as their dearest guests, as their best and closest friends, as brothers. A feeling of great pride in our country welled up in our hearts at the sight of the unforgettable enthusiasm with which we, representatives of the Soviet people, were welcomed in the towns and villages.

Everywhere we went the people expressed their heartiest gratitude towards the Soviet Union for its foreign policy of peace, for its policy of friendship and co-operation among nations.

We saw that the enthusiasm and joy with which we were met everywhere by the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan were an expression of friendship and love for the Soviet Union, for the Soviet people who, under the leadership of their Communist Party, have so glorified their country.

We saw that the countries we visited are peace-loving countries, that their peoples and governments desire peaceful co-operation with all states. That is the main thing that draws us together, that creates the necessary conditions for friendship and co-operation.

Peace is the greatest blessing the nations can have. And friendship and co-operation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan are a great factor for international peace.

Friendship and co-operation among the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan are a factor for peace which the opponents of peace and co-operation among the nations cannot help taking into account.

The five great principles of peaceful co-existence and co-operation—that is the basis on which we build our relations with countries having different social and political systems. More and more states, as we see, are subscribing to these principles.

Our friendship with great India, with Burma and with Afghanistan is a splendid example of the triumph of the Leninist foreign policy principles of the Soviet state. It is a great and historic gain.

Our trip showed us how very important personal contacts among statesmen are for establishing mutual understanding and friendly relations, for all-round co-operation and ties between countries. Our contacts with the leaders of India, Burma and Afghanistan helped us to come to know one another better, to bring out common view-points on major international problems, and to find the right path to the solution of questions pertaining to co-operation and relations.

You know from the press that a result of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan was the publication of joint declarations. These historic documents mark a new stage in the development of relations between the Soviet

Union and each of those three countries. Our common striving for friendship and co-operation also led to good results in the talks on extending commercial, economic, cultural and other relations. These relations are based on our unvarying principle of equality and mutual benefit. We stand for such economic co-operation and relations as do not involve any political conditions or obligations.

Our tour had such rich and beneficial results thanks to the exceptional courtesy and hospitality shown us by the esteemed Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, the esteemed Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, and the esteemed Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Mohammed Daoud. I take advantage of this occasion to convey to them, again and again, our heartfelt thanks.

And so, the most important result of our trip to great India, to Burma and to Afghanistan was a further rapprochement between the Soviet Union and these countries, a further development of friendship and co-operation among our peoples.

Not everybody, however, likes that. Our tour and our speeches, particularly the speeches by Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov, aroused not only stormy approval from friends but also stormy indignation from the reactionary press and certain prominent public figures and statesmen in Western countries, especially in Britain. Our only comment is: they do not like our frank statements about their colonial policy, they do not like our friendship with India, Burma and Afghanistan, but we like this friendship very much and it suits us very much. This friendship among nations has strengthened the front of the peace-loving countries, has given it still greater unity. The front of the peace-loving countries has become stronger than ever. It will grow still stronger, and we are confident that it will triumph! (*Applause.*)

Long live friendship and co-operation among nations—the greatest factor for world peace! (*Applause and cheers.*)

**REPORT
BY N. A. BULGANIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE
U.S.S.R.
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,
ON THE VISIT TO INDIA, BURMA AND
AFGHANISTAN**

**DELIVERED AT FOURTH SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE U.S.S.R.**

December 29, 1955

Comrade Deputies, this session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is meeting in the closing days of 1955, a year of important international developments that led to major changes in the relations between states.

The outgoing year will go down in history as a year of a definite change in the tension which has characterized the international situation in recent times. No little credit for this must be put down to the efforts of the Soviet Union to guarantee peace and security of nations, to strengthen confidence among nations, and to promote broad political, economic and cultural intercourse between countries, regardless of their social and political systems.

For Soviet foreign policy, 1955 was a year of exceptionally active and persistent efforts to consolidate peace, lessen international tension, and extend co-operation between nations and states. Nobody can now deny that the efforts made by the Soviet Union in this direction have been crowned by notable achievement.

A big contribution to the promotion of peace was, undoubtedly, the development of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India, Burma and Afghanistan, countries which Comrade Khrushchov and I recently

visited. This visit was a graphic manifestation of the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet state, and a fitting conclusion of 1955, a year rich in important international events. (*Applause.*)

The immediate result of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan was to strengthen and broaden the relations of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and these countries, and to bring the Soviet people into closer contact with the great people of India and the peoples of Burma and Afghanistan. But its importance is not confined to this.

The visit acquired tremendous international significance, primarily because it reaffirmed the correctness of the basic, Leninist principle of Soviet foreign policy, the principle of peaceful co-existence of countries with different social and political systems. It demonstrated clearly and convincingly that this principle is a reliable basis for strengthening world peace and security and for promoting confidence among states.

We know that the Asian countries, whose inhabitants constitute more than half the population of the globe, are becoming an increasingly important factor in the international affairs of our time. For centuries the peoples of many Asian countries had been, and some of them still are, victims of harsh colonial oppression. Seeking to justify their policy and their domination over the Asian peoples, the colonialists sought, and still seek, to portray them as backward peoples, culturally and socially. But it should not be forgotten that historically the development of the Asian peoples began long before the peoples of Europe entered the arena of history. And if in recent centuries social and political development in Asia was retarded and lagged behind, this was the fault not of the Asian peoples, but of the colonialists who established in the countries of Asia—and not only

of Asia, but of Africa as well—a system of administration based on violence, robbery and inhuman exploitation of the people. This system is a source of fabulous wealth for the colonialists, but for the oppressed peoples of Asia and Africa it spells poverty and dire suffering.

This situation prevailed for a long time, but it could not last for ever. To all who had the slightest acquaintance with the laws of social development, it was clear that a national-liberation movement was bound to develop in the Asian countries and would acquire ever greater dimensions. And it did. The Asian peoples began to awaken and straighten their backs. This great awakening was stimulated by the Great October Socialist Revolution in our country, and by the weakening of the colonial powers as a result of the two world wars, especially the second.

Speaking of the countries of the East, our great teacher Lenin said on more than one occasion that the masses of these countries would inevitably rise to put an end to their unequal position and become independent builders of a new life. The time would come, Lenin said, when Asia's millions would become an active factor in world history and take part in shaping the destiny of mankind. That time has come. Today we see that the colonial system is crumbling in Asia and throughout the East.

The great Chinese people, led by the Communist Party of China, are stepping out along the broad highway of national regeneration and independence, building a socialist society in their country. The historic victory of the Chinese people has tremendously influenced the whole situation in Asia and the East generally. It has given a new impetus to the national-liberation movement of the colonial and dependent peoples.

The colonial yoke has been thrown off by the people of the great land of India and the people of Burma. Inspired

by the urge to revive and regenerate their countries, these peoples have now entered a period of independent economic and political development.

The path of freedom and independence has been taken by Indonesia and other Eastern countries.

A movement for the consolidation of national independence is acquiring ever broader scope in the Arab countries. Active struggle for emancipation is being waged by the peoples of Africa.

Comrade Deputies, Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov and I spent three weeks in India. And from the moment we set foot on Indian soil to the moment of our departure from that hospitable country, we were surrounded by friendship and regard of the Indian people. They displayed the warmest friendship for us, and welcomed us with enthusiasm as the representatives of the Soviet Union. (*Prolonged applause.*) For that reason, our visit to India may be called a meeting with the great Indian people. (*Applause.*)

When we left for India, we knew that this was a friendly country and that a warm welcome awaited us. But what we saw and heard surpassed all expectations. Descending from the plane on our arrival in Delhi, we saw people who had come to meet us, headed by the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, and an immense crowd, and heard the continuous roar of many thousands of voices. The people cried to us in words we could not understand, in words of their own language. But we knew that those were words of friendship and joy, for they rang so heartily and sincerely. Here, we felt, were true friends of the Soviet people, here were our brothers. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

In Delhi, nearly a million people came to meet us on the Ramliila Square. It was an unforgettable sight. The great square surged with excitement, cries of greeting came from all sides, we saw streamers with the words in Russian:

"Indians and Russians are brothers!" (*applause*); "Long live Indian-Soviet friendship!" (*applause*); "Long live world peace!" (*applause*); "Welcome to us, our dear guests from the Soviet Union!" (*Applause.*) These greetings came straight from the hearts of the Indian people. (*Applause.*)

We realized with pride that the enthusiasm with which the Indian people welcomed us was meant for our glorious country, for the great Soviet people who, led by the Communist Party, carried out the Great October Socialist Revolution, routed numberless external and internal enemies and, unswervingly adhering to the general line of our Party, established the first socialist state in the world. (*Applause.*)

The Indian people welcomed us so heartily because we represented the peoples of the Soviet Union who upheld their achievements in a grim struggle against the fascist hordes in the Great Patriotic War, and are now working with unflagging constructive energy to build a new, communist society. (*Applause.*)

We realized that the achievements, the successes and victories of our country are appreciated and prized by the Indian people, are hailed by them sincerely and wholeheartedly.

It is with deep emotion also that we recall the meetings with the Indian people in Bombay, Poona, Coimbatore, Bangalore, Madras, Jaipur, Srinagar and other cities. But the most vivid, the most unforgettable impression was made on us by our meeting with the population of Calcutta. For days before our arrival, people had been flowing in from the surrounding towns and villages. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, came to Calcutta. The newspapers reported afterwards that we had been welcomed in the streets of the city by more than three million people. It was a surging and tumultuous sea of human beings. Here, too, we heard warm words of greeting, words of friendship and affection for the Soviet

Union. We were told that many who attended that meeting in Calcutta had come to the square the day before in order to be sure of a place near to the platform.

We witnessed manifestations of friendship for us, as the representatives of the Soviet people, not only in the cities but in the small villages, where men and women, old and young, lined the roads to meet and welcome us. Here, too, we heard joyous cries in honour of our country.

We were deeply impressed by our meeting with the members of the Indian Parliament, who received us most cordially and listened with deep attention to and warmly applauded our speeches. We were warmly and hospitably received by the statesmen of India and the governments of the states we visited. They did much to make our stay in India pleasant and useful.

In Delhi, we were the guests of the President of India, Mr. Prasad. We stayed at his residence. Mr. Prasad did everything to make Comrade Khrushchov, myself, and our companions feel comfortable and at home in his residence. We had several talks with him. We transmitted to him a message from Comrade Voroshilov, President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. Mr. Prasad expressed deep gratitude for the message and tendered us a reply for transmission to Comrade Voroshilov.

We had meetings with the Vice-President of India, Mr. Radhakrishnan, an outstanding statesman who, as the Speaker of Parliament, received us cordially and said many kind things about the Soviet Union in his speech.

Special mention should be made of our meetings with the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, one of the most distinguished statesmen of our time. (*Prolonged applause.*) All our meetings with Mr. Nehru were marked by sincere friendship. Wherever we went, we were conscious of his kindness and solicitude.

Warm and sincere esteem and friendship for the Soviet people were also expressed by the peoples of Burma and Afghanistan, whom we met later. In the towns and villages of Burma and in Kabul, capital of Afghanistan, the people welcomed us with joy and sympathy as the representatives of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

In Delhi and other Indian cities, and in Rangoon and Kabul, it was said that never before had these cities witnessed such a friendly and impressive welcome as was accorded to us, the representatives of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people.

During our stay in India we were able to acquaint ourselves with many aspects of the life of the people. The Indian Government made it possible for us to tour the western, eastern, southern and northern parts of the country. Using our Soviet IJL-14II plane, designed by Sergei Vladimirovich Ilyushin, we flew 22,500 kilometres, including some 10,000 kilometres in India alone. We visited various parts of India, many cities and villages, building sites and industrial enterprises, government farms and many cultural establishments, and saw remarkable memorials of India's rich and ancient culture.

For nearly two centuries India had been ruled by British colonialists for whom this rich land was an agrarian, raw-material adjunct of the metropolitan country, a market for its manufactures. Naturally, the British had no desire to develop industry in India. That is the way of all colonialists, whose aim is to squeeze the greatest possible profit out of the colonies and to give them nothing, or practically nothing, in return.

Having thrown off the colonial yoke and regained their independence, the Indian people, guided by their Government, proceeded to the economic development of their country. The first achievements have been registered in this direction.

We visited India's principal industrial area, which has been developed in the past few years. It lies at the junction of the States of Bihar and West Bengal, in the valley of the River Damodar. Metallurgical, engineering and chemical works are located here; there are coal and ore mines in the area.

In Chittaranjan we saw the new locomotive works. This is a government enterprise which began making locomotives in 1950. While we were there it turned out its 300th locomotive. The Indians are proud of this works—the first-born of their engineering industry. The engineers who showed us round stressed that more than 80 per cent of the locomotive parts were made in the works itself.

We also visited an artificial fertilizer factory in Sindri. This is another new government enterprise and it plays an important part in the economy of India whose agriculture is in great need of mineral fertilizers. The town of Sindri, which has grown up around the factory, is only four or five years old.

India is an agricultural country; more than three-quarters of her population are tillers. One of the most important problems connected with increasing India's agricultural output is artificial irrigation. Unirrigated fields yield poor crops, and the Indian Government is making a great effort to develop a powerful irrigation system.

We made a detailed inspection of one of India's biggest construction projects, the Bhakra-Nangal development, where a big dam is being built, to be followed by a power station. This big development has been conceived on broad and bold lines, and interesting solutions have been found for a number of technical problems. But the most interesting thing we saw was the remarkable labour enthusiasm of the people—the workers and engineers—who are building the project. The Bhakra-Nangal scheme reminded us of the atmosphere of our first five-year plan, when we were building our first big enterprises.

The Indian Government is seeking for ways and means of developing agriculture within the framework of private landownership. For this purpose, it is carrying out in the rural areas measures known as the Community Projects and the National Extension Service Development Programme. We were told that these programmes now embrace about 20 per cent of the villages of India, and that it is intended in the period of the second five-year plan to extend this system of agrarian development to the whole country.

We visited a number of government farms. These are small but well-organized undertakings which, in our opinion, are undoubtedly doing valuable work as experimental farms.

While in India, we saw for ourselves that, now that they have thrown off the colonial yoke, the Indian people are capable of advancing boldly along the road of industrial progress and building an economically independent state. We also had ample evidence of how deeply the Indian people desire peace and co-operation with other countries.

The visit of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, to the Soviet Union this summer already revealed the identity of interests of the Soviet Union and India in working for peace and international security, and this found reflection in the first Joint Soviet-Indian Statement signed in Moscow on June 22, 1955.

In our conversations with Prime Minister Nehru and other Indian statesmen during our stay in Delhi, we again exchanged views both on questions relating to the further extension of friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union and India and on major international problems. These talks resulted in the Joint Soviet-Indian Declaration of December 13.

In this historic document, which is of great international importance, the two Governments reaffirmed their adherence to the principles of respect for each other's territorial

integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any motives of an economic, political or ideological nature, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. These principles are a reliable basis for the peaceful co-existence of states with different social and political systems. The Soviet Government considers that the adoption of these principles by other countries, including the United States, Britain and France, would contribute to further relaxation of international tension and the establishment of the necessary confidence among the nations.

In the Delhi declaration, the Soviet and Indian Governments condemned the present arms drive, which is assuming increasingly dangerous dimensions, and unanimously called for its termination and for relieving the nations of the heavy burden of military expenditure. Fully cognizant of the danger of a situation in which atomic and hydrogen weapons are being systematically and continuously accumulated, the two Governments pronounced in favour of unconditional prohibition of these weapons, of freeing mankind from the fear of atomic war and the incalculable destruction of property and life it would involve.

The Soviet Union has always advocated the termination of the arms drive and the conclusion of an international agreement prohibiting atomic and hydrogen weapons, and other weapons of mass destruction, including guided missiles, which have been greatly developed in recent years and, one might say, have become inter-continental weapons. In May 1955, the Soviet Union submitted a proposal on reduction of conventional armaments and prohibition of atomic weapons. Implementation of this proposal would be a substantial contribution to the cause of peace. We are glad that in this noble cause the Indian Government takes a stand which is similar to ours.

Our talks in India resulted in full agreement to the effect that the policy pursued by certain countries of forming military blocs directed against other countries heightens international tension and increases the danger of a new war, and that this policy is incompatible with the promotion of co-operation among all countries, irrespective of their political and social systems.

The peoples of Asia and Africa cannot but be alarmed by the creation of such aggressive military alliances as SEATO and the recently formed Baghdad bloc.

The United States, Britain and France sponsored SEATO. As to the Baghdad military alliance, we know that Britain had the chief hand in its formation. The Baghdad pact is a manifestation of colonialism in a new form. It is essentially an aggressive pact, as can be seen from the character of the obligations assumed by the participants in this military alliance. This became particularly obvious when Iran was drawn into this alliance.

The Soviet Government has repeatedly called the attention of the Iranian Government to the fact that the participation of Iran in military alliances, into which the Western Powers have long been trying to draw her, is incompatible with the maintenance of good-neighbourly relations between Iran and the Soviet Union. We pointed out at the same time that we want to have good relations with Iran, as with other neighbouring countries. Unfortunately, those who are responsible for Iran's policy have taken a different course; they have joined the Baghdad pact, thereby assuming grave responsibility for the resultant situation.

We reject, as untenable, the assertion of the Iranian Government that Iran's adhesion to this pact strengthens peace in the Middle East. There is as little truth in this assertion as there is in the assertion that the Atlantic bloc strengthens peace in Europe.

We heard with satisfaction the statement made from this rostrum by the head of the Iranian parliamentary delegation, Mr. Sayed, to the effect that the Government and the people of Iran sincerely desire to further friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union. But we are forced to reckon with the fact that the formation of the Baghdad bloc, and the integration into it of neighbours of the Soviet Union, cannot but affect the security of our country. The Soviet Union is, accordingly, obliged to draw the necessary conclusions.

The Joint Declaration signed during our stay in India condemns the policy of forming military alliances and regional military blocs, and stresses that peace and genuine security for the peoples can be assured only by the collective efforts of the states.

The Soviet Government and the Government of India expressed the conviction that permanent peace in Asia is impossible without granting the People's Republic of China its rightful place in the United Nations. The two Governments emphasized the necessity for a speedy settlement of other Far Eastern problems, including the problem of Taiwan and the Chinese coastal islands, which must be settled on the basis of satisfying the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. Our Joint Declaration expresses the hope that these problems will be settled without delay through agreement.

The Governments of the two countries emphasized the necessity of settling the Korean question on the basis of recognizing the national rights of the Korean people and in accordance with the interests of peace in the Far East, and also the necessity of implementing the Geneva agreements on Indo-China. We know that attempts are now being made to obstruct implementation of these agreements, although their violation, as the Soviet-Indian Declaration of December 13 rightly points out, would have "exceedingly grave consequences for both Indo-China and the whole world."

The similarity of the views of the Soviet Union and India on the outstanding problems of Asia and the Far East is undoubtedly an important factor, capable of contributing to the settlement of these problems on the basis of recognizing the lawful rights of the peoples and in accordance with the interests of peace.

Pursuing a policy of peace, the Soviet Union and India are successfully co-operating on a number of important problems which the United Nations is now working to solve. This is reflected not only in the identity of the views of the two countries on such problems as disarmament, but also on the question of U.N. membership. We note with satisfaction that the Indian Government supported the Soviet proposal for the admission to the United Nations of sixteen countries: Albania, Jordan, Ireland, Portugal, Hungary, Italy, Austria, Rumania, Bulgaria, Finland, Ceylon, Nepal, Libya, Cambodia, Laos and Spain. We share the hope expressed by Mr. Nehru that those countries still outside the United Nations will soon be admitted to membership.

The Soviet-Indian Declaration records that the Soviet Union and India concur in their evaluation of the results of the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government, and of the recent conference of the four Foreign Ministers. There was full understanding between Mr. Nehru and ourselves that the effort to lessen international tension must be continued, and that the best method of settling controversial issues is by negotiation.

Comrade Deputies, the identity of the views of the Soviet Union and India on vital international problems is not due to transitory causes or considerations of the moment. It springs from the fundamental interests of the peoples of the two countries, who want peace and security.

The Soviet people, led by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, are engaged in the peaceful constructive work

of building a communist society, implementing the great plans of economic and cultural development and raising the well-being of the Soviet people. We have never threatened anyone, nor do we threaten anyone now, and the peace-loving nations will always find in the Soviet Union a staunch champion of peace and international co-operation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

India's policy of peace likewise rests on profound foundations deriving from the nature of the development of the Indian state. We have seen the great effort the Indian people are making to develop their economy. Our talks with Mr. Nehru and other Indian statesmen brought home to us the immensity of the tasks confronting India in raising the standard of living of her people. The Indians are vitally interested in peace, in being able to work in peace and create material values for the good of their country.

Identity of the interests of the Soviet Union and India in working for peace is a firm foundation for maintaining and further developing the friendly relations between the two countries.

A factor of great significance for the further strengthening of our relations with India is economic intercourse between the two countries and the potentialities which exist in this sphere. We therefore exchanged views with the Indian Government concerning ways and means of broadening economic intercourse, of enlarging the volume of trade between India and the Soviet Union.

It was agreed that in the three years beginning with 1956 the Soviet Union will supply to India one million tons of rolled ferrous metals—300,000 tons in the first year and 350,000 tons in each of the two following years. We shall also supply to India various kinds of industrial equipment and other goods. It has been agreed that the Soviet Union will increase its purchases of Indian goods. The two

parties considered it essential to arrange regular shipping services between Soviet and Indian ports and to establish air communication between the two countries.

The Soviet Government considers that international co-operation implies, among other things, pooling of experience between countries, including countries with different social systems. In the course of our meetings in India, we stated that the Soviet Union was prepared to share its experience with India and, in the first place, experience in economic development. We observed, at the same time, that we did not want to force our experience on anybody, but that if our friends, the Indian people, desired to avail themselves of our experience in any degree, we were prepared to share it with them. We should also like to avail ourselves, and should avail ourselves, of the experience of India, which has a centuries-old culture.

The strengthening of political and economic relations between the Soviet Union and India can, and should, be supplemented by the development of cultural intercourse between the two countries, for which there is a mutual desire. We had the opportunity while in India to convince ourselves of the tremendous creative ability of the Indian people, who have produced world-famed memorials of material and spiritual culture, inimitable specimens of national architecture, and a distinctive and remarkable school of scenic art, dancing and music, which preserves and carries forward the traditions of folk art.

On the other hand, a strong desire for close cultural contact with the Soviet Union is to be observed in India. We welcome this desire, being convinced that such contact will be useful to both peoples.

We had many meetings and conversations in India with statesmen and public figures, with managers of industrial enterprises and farms, with workers in science, culture and

art, and with members of the most diverse professions. They all displayed keen interest in the Soviet Union, in the life and work of the Soviet people. We invited many of them to visit our country to get to know the Soviet people more closely, to see with their own eyes how they live and work. This will undoubtedly help to strengthen the bonds of friendship, and promote closer contact between our peoples.

The reactionary press and some government leaders abroad were greatly annoyed by our frank statements on the Goa and Kashmir questions.

As you know, there is still a small Portuguese colony on an integral part of Indian territory—Goa. The Indians are rightly demanding that this intolerable state of affairs should be ended and Goa liberated. We have only to glance at the map of India and at these “possessions” of the Portuguese intruders to see how justified and lawful is the claim of the Indian Government that this Indian territory should be reunited with the motherland. The Soviet Government supports this just demand and considers that maintaining a Portuguese colony on Indian territory—as maintaining the colonial system in our day generally—is a disgrace to civilized nations. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

As regards the Kashmir problem, it has been generated by countries pursuing definite military and political aims in this area. On the pretext of supporting Pakistan on the Kashmir question certain countries are trying to entrench themselves in this part of India in order to threaten and exert pressure on areas in the vicinity of Kashmir. The attempt was made to sever Kashmir from India artificially and convert it into a foreign military base.

The people of Kashmir are emphatically opposed to this imperialist policy. The issue has been settled by the Kashmiris themselves; they regard themselves as an integral part of the Republic of India and want to live in the fraternal

family of Indian peoples, to take part in building the new and independent India, and work for international peace and security. (*Prolonged applause.*) We became profoundly convinced of this during our meetings with the people in Srinagar, and in our conversations with the Prime Minister of Kashmir, Mr. G. M. Bakshi, and his colleagues.

The Soviet Government supports India's policy in relation to the Kashmir issue (*applause*), because it fully accords with the interests of peace in this part of Asia. We declared this when we were in Kashmir, we reaffirmed our declaration at a press conference in Delhi on December 14, and we declare it today. (*Applause.*)

Our visit to India has brought our two countries still closer. The bonds of friendship between the Soviet Union and India have been greatly strengthened. We knew before, and during our stay in India our conviction was confirmed, that the Indian people entertain sincere brotherly feelings for the peoples of the Soviet Union. A new and powerful stimulus has been given to the all-round development of political and economic co-operation between the two countries. Better opportunities for cultural and scientific intercourse have been created.

We, Soviet people, wish our great friend, the people of India, every success in furthering the economic progress of their country, in developing industry and agriculture, in raising their standard of living and cultural level, in consolidating the Republic of India as an independent and sovereign state. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and India constitute a most important factor in safeguarding international peace and security. This great friendship we shall continue to develop and strengthen. (*Applause.*)

I shall now speak about our visit to Burma.

Burma embarked on the path of independent national

development as the result of the devoted struggle waged by all her people against the long years of British colonial rule, and then, in the Second World War, against the invasion of the Japanese militarists, who ruthlessly plundered the Burmese and their national wealth.

In their struggle for independence the Burmese displayed determination and heroism. The leader of their struggle, the popular hero, Aung San, and many of his comrades met their death at the hands of the enemies of national liberation. But the people attained their aim: the chains of colonial slavery were broken, and an independent state—the Union of Burma—established. In the face of enormous difficulties, arising from the aftermath of colonial oppression and the devastation of war, the Burmese set about rehabilitating and upbuilding their economy.

The visit of the Burmese Prime Minister, U Nu, to the Soviet Union in October and November 1955 laid the foundation for close and friendly contact between the Union of Burma and the Soviet Union.

A Joint Soviet-Burmese Declaration was signed in Moscow on November 3, its keynote being the desire to promote international confidence and co-operation. The declaration emphasized that the sincere and friendly relations between the two countries were based on the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence already recognized by many states and nations, and which are aimed at strengthening peace among the nations.

Our stay in Burma from December 1 to 7, our meetings with the people of this hospitable country, and our personal contacts with her leaders once more confirmed that Burma is an active champion of friendly relations between states, condemns the formation of military blocs, and advocates collective effort by the states for the consolidation of peace.

We arrived in Rangoon, capital of Burma, on December 1.

There we were given a friendly and very cordial reception by the population and by Burmese government leaders, headed by Prime Minister U Nu. Our meetings with the people were equally cordial and hearty in all the other cities we visited during our six-day stay in Burma. Besides Rangoon, we visited the Shan State, part of the Union of Burma, and its capital, Taunggyi, and also the second largest Burmese city, Mandalay. Everywhere the Soviet people, the Soviet Union, and Burmese-Soviet friendship were warmly and sincerely hailed by the people of Burma. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We were happily impressed, in particular, by our meeting with the students and teaching staff of the University of Rangoon, where several thousand young men and women are studying. The younger generation of this nation, now that it has thrown off the yoke of colonial servitude, is making the first steps in the acquisition of the scientific knowledge required for independent advancement along the road chosen by the people, for the development of the national economy and culture.

The students listened with rapt attention to the speech of Comrade Khrushchov who gave a detailed account of the Soviet Union, of our way of life, and of our educational system. Great interest was evoked by the passages in the speech denouncing the colonialist policy of the imperialist states, and declaring that the Soviet Union did not support, indeed emphatically opposed, this policy. This statement, like many other passages, was greeted by the students and professors with stormy applause.

During our stay in Burma we had useful meetings and talks with the President of the Union of Burma, Dr. Ba U, to whom we transmitted a personal message from the President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, Comrade Voroshilov. Dr. Ba U expressed his deep gratitude for the message.

On behalf of our Government, we invited the Burmese Minister of Defence, U Ba Swe, and the Minister of Industry, U Kyaw Nyein, to visit the Soviet Union. Both Ministers accepted the invitation.

Special mention should be made of our meetings and conversations with U Nu, Prime Minister of the Union of Burma, which were marked by cordiality and friendship. These meetings resulted in the Soviet-Burmese Declaration signed in Rangoon on December 6.

The Declaration notes the identity of the views of the two countries on the major international problems requiring settlement: disarmament, including prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, the Far East, including the necessity of satisfying the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in relation to Taiwan and the coastal islands, and the question of granting the C.P.R. its rightful place in the United Nations.

The two Governments reaffirmed their unanimous opinion that the policy of forming blocs is to be condemned, and that only a policy of non-participation in such blocs can establish confidence and good will among states. "International peace," the Soviet-Burmese Declaration says, "can be strengthened and the peoples' confidence in the future can be assured, not through the creation of blocs, but only through joint and collective efforts of all peoples."

The views of the two Governments were also found to concur on the results of the Geneva Conference of the Four Heads of Government, and of the recent Conference of the Four Foreign Ministers. The Soviet-Burmese Declaration of December 6 states that the two countries consider that further efforts should be made to solve outstanding international problems.

Our relations with Burma rest on a firm foundation, since both parties are vitally interested in maintaining

and furthering co-operation on the basis of the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence.

Our economic relations with the Union of Burma are based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and preclude imposing political or any other shackling conditions by either party. In full conformity with these principles, which are shared by the Burmese Government, we discussed during our stay in Rangoon measures for furthering Soviet-Burmese co-operation in the economic, cultural, scientific and technical spheres, and, in particular, for enlarging the volume of trade between Burma and the U.S.S.R.

It was agreed that the Soviet Union would co-operate in the drawing up of a programme of agricultural development, construction of major irrigation works, and the building of several industrial enterprises in Burma. Burma, in return, will sell the Soviet Union rice, and in the event of the quantities purchased being insufficient to compensate for the value of our deliveries, Burma will enjoy the right to credit, that is, to defer the payments in kind over a number of years by mutual agreement.

In token of good will and respect for the people of the Union of Burma, we offered on behalf of the Soviet Government, and on its instructions, to build and equip, with Soviet means and resources, a technological institute in Rangoon as a gift to the Burmese people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Government of the Union of Burma highly appreciated the motives which prompted the Soviet Government to make this offer, and accepted the gift with deep gratitude to the Soviet Government and the Soviet people. (*Applause.*)

On behalf of the Burmese people, Prime Minister U Nu offered, in turn, an appropriate quantity of rice and other commodities of Burmese production as a gift to the Soviet Union. On behalf of the people of the

Soviet Union, we accepted this gift with gratitude. (*Applause.*)

A strong desire for cultural intercourse with the Soviet Union is manifested by the Burmese leaders and Burmese intellectuals. We declared that the Soviet Union was ready to develop cultural intercourse with Burma, since this could but benefit the two countries and help to strengthen their friendly relations.

The Government of Burma expressed satisfaction with the good will displayed by the Soviet Government in the Rangoon talks. We, on our part, wish the Union of Burma that it may speedily cope with the aftermath of colonial oppression and war devastation, consolidate and unite the Burmese people, and achieve further success in building an economy independent of foreign states and free of the difficulties it is still experiencing owing to the efforts of certain foreign powers to place Burma at a disadvantage in the world market.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and Burma are unanimous in the desire to preserve and consolidate peace, to safeguard the security of nations, and to promote international co-operation and friendship. The visit of Comrade Khrushchov and myself to Burma as the guests of her Government, and our meetings with the Burmese people, have brought the Soviet Union and Burma still closer. The friendship and co-operation between the two countries is becoming a factor of increasing importance in the effort to relax international tension.

We shall do everything in our power to strengthen and broaden the friendship and co-operation between the two countries for the well-being and happiness of their peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*)

I shall now turn to our visit to Afghanistan.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance and re-

sults of our stay in Afghanistan as the guests of His Majesty's Government. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have a common border of 2,346 kilometres, and the two countries are bound by close and friendly relations of long standing.

The Afghan people won their national independence in bitter struggle against the British imperialists, who sought to convert Afghanistan into their colony. The courageous Afghans were thrice victorious in this struggle, and in 1919 they firmly established their independence and statehood. A big role in establishing Afghanistan's independence was played by the defeat suffered by the intervention troops in Central Asia at the hands of Soviet Russia.

Afghanistan has invariably enjoyed the support of the Soviet Union. We were the first power to recognize Afghanistan as a sovereign state, in 1919. Afghanistan, on the other hand, was one of the first foreign countries to recognize the Soviet state established by the Great October Socialist Revolution. These facts suffice to show how deeply rooted are the good relations between the two countries. Experience has shown that these good-neighbourly relations are in the best interests of the peoples of the two countries.

Our meetings in Kabul with His Majesty King Mohammed Zahir Shah, Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud and other leading Afghan statesmen revealed their desire to maintain and develop the good-neighbourly relations between the two countries.

This desire of His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan is only to be welcomed, as we said in Kabul. On its part, the Soviet Government has done, and intends in the future to do, everything necessary to strengthen and develop our relations with this neighbouring country. (*Applause.*)

The exchange of views with leading Afghan statesmen revealed the desire of both Governments to contribute to a further lessening of international tension and extension

of international co-operation. We noted with satisfaction that the views of the two Governments concur on a number of international problems, including disarmament and Asian and Far Eastern problems, and this was reflected in the Joint Soviet-Afghan Declaration signed in Kabul on December 18.

In our statements in Kabul we set forth our attitude to the Pushtunistan issue, which is deeply agitating the Afghans. Pushtunistan is inhabited by Afghan "independent tribes." The region was annexed to the British Empire in 1893, and in 1947, against the interests of the tribes inhabiting Pushtunistan, it was incorporated into Pakistan.

We regard as justified and well-founded the demand of Afghanistan that the inhabitants of the bordering region of Pushtunistan should be given the opportunity for a free expression of their will. The people of this area have as much right to national self-determination as any other people. No justification can be found for those who refuse to reckon, and do not reckon, with the lawful national interests of the people of Pushtunistan.

Our relations with Afghanistan are based on a series of treaties concluded after Afghanistan became an independent state. One of the most important is the Treaty of Neutrality and Mutual Non-Aggression of June 24, 1931.

During our stay in Kabul, agreement was reached with His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan that this treaty should be prolonged for ten years, that is, until 1966. We also agreed that on the expiry of this period the treaty shall continue in force unless either of the parties proposes that it be terminated. A special protocol to this effect was signed in Kabul. This is an act of great importance, and testifies that both parties take their obligations seriously and intend to develop their relations on the basis of the treaties and agreements they have concluded.

We consider that the policy of neutrality and good-neighbourship pursued by His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan in relation to other countries helps to strengthen the position of the Afghan state. In contrast to Pakistan, which finds herself, owing to her participation in the Baghdad military bloc, in a difficult position internally and externally, Afghanistan undeniably enjoys great possibilities for independent economic and political development.

We would like to see Pakistan, too, enjoy such possibilities. The Soviet Union would like to have no less friendly relations with Pakistan than it has with India, Burma and Afghanistan, and it is not our fault that this is so far not the case. However, the Soviet Government has endeavoured, and will continue to do so, to improve our relations with Pakistan.

During our stay in Afghanistan we had a fruitful exchange of views on economic relations between the two countries and the possibility of expanding them. Our conversations with leading Afghan statesmen revealed new potentialities for broadening economic co-operation between the two countries and, in particular, for enlarging the volume of Soviet-Afghan trade.

On the instructions of our Government, we granted to Afghanistan a long-term credit of 100 million U.S. dollars.

While in Kabul we, on behalf of the Soviet Government, extended an invitation to Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud to visit the Soviet Union at his convenience. Mr. Mohammed Daoud accepted the invitation and expressed the wish to visit our country in 1956. We have no doubt that his stay in the Soviet Union, like the stay of Comrade Khrushchov and myself in Afghanistan, will strengthen the friendly relations between our countries. (*Applause.*)

In the thirty-six years since the establishment of the independent state of Afghanistan, our relations with her have

been a model of genuine good-neighbourship and friendly co-operation. And we intend to continue our relations with Afghanistan in a manner that accords with the interests of the peoples of the two countries and with the interests of peace.

We want to see Afghanistan an economically strong and politically independent state, and are glad that our policy towards that country meets with the full understanding of His Majesty's Government of Afghanistan and of the Afghan people.

Comrade Deputies, the strengthening of our friendly ties with India, Burma and Afghanistan is a triumph for the Leninist principles of the Soviet Union's peace-loving foreign policy, a triumph for the principle of peaceful co-existence.

As we know, the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan have different social and political systems. But this is not, and will not be, a hindrance to the continued strengthening of relations between our countries—they are firmly founded on the Five Principles of which I have already spoken.

It is on these principles that the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, India, Burma, Afghanistan and a number of other countries in Europe, Asia and Africa build their relations with one another and with other countries. We deeply respect these principles, as being in full accord with the principles of Soviet foreign policy, and consider that the greater the number of countries that adopt and guide themselves by them, the more effectively will international confidence develop, and the more rapidly will tension be lessened and peace be strengthened.

Our visit to Asia evoked much comment all over the world, and especially in Asia and Africa.

In our addresses to rallies and assemblies in India, Burma and Afghanistan, we spoke of the friendship of our

people for the peoples of these countries, and of the peace-loving Leninist policy of our Government. We hailed the peoples who have thrown off the yoke of colonial slavery, and expressed our sympathy with those who are still the victims of colonial oppression. Comrade Khrushchov, in his statements, truthfully and frankly expressed our opinion of the actions of the imperialists and colonialists in Asia, Africa, and wherever they have formerly ruled or still maintain their rule.

Foreign press comments reveal the importance attached to our statements in the East. In particular, the press noted that no representative of the bourgeois world would venture to tell the Asian peoples the truth about the colonial powers, that it can be told only by those who champion the equality of all nations, by those who actively work for freedom for all countries and for their right to develop in their own way. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our frank and forthright statements were received with sympathy and understanding not only by those to whom they were directly addressed; they were carried far beyond the confines of India, Burma and Afghanistan and reached the hearing of other Asian and African peoples.

Together with these nations, the positive results of our visit are hailed by the peoples of the Chinese People's Republic and the People's Democracies. Our visit is approved by progressive-minded men and women all over the world, by all our friends. (*Applause.*)

However, our visit to the Asian countries was not to the liking of all. Our statements in India, Burma and Afghanistan, and the documents of friendship signed in Delhi, Rangoon and Kabul, evoked the dissatisfaction and even the resentment of the reactionary press and of official spokesmen in certain countries. Our friendship with India, Burma and Afghanistan is not to their liking. But it is very much to

our liking, and we shall work to strengthen it, and also our friendship and co-operation with other countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our frank statements on colonial policy were distasteful to certain leading figures in the West. But the colonialist policy itself is even more distasteful to us and to the Asian and African peoples. (*Prolonged applause.*) We have denounced it and will continue to do so because we consider the colonial system a disgrace to the modern world, and incompatible with the peaceful and democratic principles of the United Nations. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

During our visit, it was alleged in the West that our tour of India, Burma and Afghanistan was designed to prejudice relations between the peoples of these countries and the peoples of the Western Powers. This assertion is devoid of all foundation. The strengthening of the Soviet Union's friendly relations with India, Burma and Afghanistan, far from being prejudicial to the relations of the peoples of these countries with other peoples, will help to promote international co-operation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

This, perhaps, is incomprehensible to those who are in the habit of thinking in terms of military blocs and pacts. But we approach the matter of improving the Soviet Union's relations with other countries in a different way. And a similar view is held by the leading statesmen of India, Burma and Afghanistan; they, like us, are in favour of broadening international co-operation on the basis of peaceful co-existence. (*Applause.*)

Comrade Deputies, the results of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan once more show the importance of personal contact between leading statesmen in furthering mutual understanding between nations and lessening international tension. We intend to make full use of such contacts in the future.

I should like to take this opportunity to express the cordial

thanks of the Soviet Government and our people to the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan for the warm and hearty reception they accorded us. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

We send warm greetings to the peoples of these three countries—sincere friends of the Soviet Union—and wish them success in consolidating their national independence and in their peaceful constructive labours. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

We whole-heartedly thank the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Nehru, who did so much to make our stay in India useful to both countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We tender our cordial thanks to the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, with whom we have established warm and friendly relations. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We heartily thank the Prime Minister of Afghanistan, Mr. M. Daoud, who is actively upholding Afghan independence and neutrality. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We deem it our duty to express our acknowledgements to the President of the Republic of India, Mr. Prasad, to the President of the Union of Burma, Dr. Ba U, and to the King of Afghanistan, His Majesty Mohammed Zahir Shah. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We thank all the government and public leaders of these countries who contributed to the success of our visit and gave us every possible help. (*Prolonged applause.*)

In conclusion, I deem it necessary to declare that the Soviet Government will unswervingly and firmly carry out all the agreements concluded with India, Burma and Afghanistan during our visit.

We shall spare no effort to develop and strengthen friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan, for the good of our peoples and for the good of world peace. (*Stormy and prolonged applause and cheers. All rise.*)

SPEECH BY N. S. KHRUSHCHOV

**DELIVERED AT FOURTH SESSION OF THE SUPREME SOVIET
OF THE U.S.S.R.**

December 29, 1955

Comrade Deputies,

We have listened to Comrade Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin's report on the results of our visit to the three friendly countries of India, Burma and Afghanistan. The report expressed the essential of what had to be reported to the Supreme Soviet on the results of our visit and the talks which we had on the instructions of the Soviet Government in those countries and on the agreements reached between the Government of the Soviet Union and the Governments of India, Burma and Afghanistan.

I entirely agree with all that Comrade Bulganin said in his report. I would also like to comment on certain questions.

The Soviet Government accepted with great pleasure the invitation of Prime Minister Nehru of India and sent us to India on a friendly return visit in order to establish personal contact with the leaders and the people of India. There is much in common that unites our two countries and the chief thing is the fight for the strengthening of international peace.

I do not think it is necessary to speak about the importance of the Republic of India. The great Indian people are determined to strengthen the national and

political independence that their country has won. India as a peace-loving state plays an ever-increasing role in the settlement of the most important international questions. She is an active fighter for the preservation and strengthening of peace in the whole world.

Having freed themselves from the colonial regime the peoples of India are persistently seeking ways to develop their country. The Government of the Republic of India led by such a prominent statesman and politician as the esteemed Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru is pursuing a consistent policy of independence. And this is worthy of profound respect.

Close exchange and businesslike co-operation of our countries is useful and profitable to both countries.

We were guided by the same ideas when we accepted the invitation of the Governments of Burma and Afghanistan to visit those countries.

We knew that our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan would provoke dissatisfaction on the part of the colonialists, who are afraid that the strengthening of the Soviet Union's friendship with countries which were but a short time ago oppressed by them will further weaken the positions of the colonial powers.

But Messrs. the Colonialists have only got themselves to blame.

It is generally known that the principles of co-operation and friendship of the Soviet Union with other states differ radically from the principles on which the policy of colonialists is based. The Soviet Union, setting the example of deep understanding of and respect for the interests of all peoples and countries, both great and small, proceeds from the thesis that there are no unequal or inferior nations.

Strengthening its friendship with other states the Soviet Union does not impose its will on them or dictate any pre-

liminary conditions as the imperialist states do. It does not seek thereby any special advantages for itself, but proceeds from the principle that it has to do with equal partners whose interests must be respected.

Every people has the right to build its life as it wishes. The enslavement or plundering of one country by another is a crying injustice and disgrace.

The equality of nations, non-interference in the internal affairs of other states, non-aggression and peaceful co-existence of countries irrespective of their political systems, these are the principles on which our relations with other countries have always been based. Our strict observance of these principles and our co-operation with the states of Asia, which is becoming closer and closer, are forcing the colonialists to revise their tactics in regard to those countries where they are striving to hold their positions, and easing the situation in those countries.

This is a factor of no mean importance.

We also bore in mind that our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan would promote close contacts between both the peoples and the leaders of our countries. The peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan received the opportunity of knowing more about the Soviet Union and about the life of the peoples of the Soviet country. This will further strengthen our friendship.

Finally, we were firmly convinced that our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan would further strengthen the position of world peace and would weaken the camp of the supporters of war. That circumstance alone made our visit extremely necessary, for the cause of peace is a great cause which reflects the greatest wish of the whole of humanity.

We may now say that the great hopes which were laid on that visit have been fully justified. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Comrade Deputies,

I shall not claim your attention for an account of our impressions of our journey through India, Burma and Afghanistan, for that would take too long. I shall say one thing—that our impressions are exceptionally strong and stirring. They are unforgettable. And the strongest of all our impressions is that of our meetings with the people.

We expected a cordial welcome in India from her leaders as well as from her people. But our feelings in the first minutes of our stay there exceeded all that we had expected.

In Delhi, the capital of the Republic of India, and in all the other states and towns of India we were welcomed by hundreds of thousands, millions of people. We were welcomed with exceptional cordiality in which we saw an expression of the deep love of the peoples of India for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

Wherever we appeared we were surrounded by friends acclaiming the eternal and indestructible friendship of India and the Soviet Union. As a beloved brother is welcomed in a loving family, so we were welcomed in the great family of the peoples of India, warmly and cordially as representatives of the great Soviet people. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The same friendly welcome was extended to us by the peoples of Burma, Prime Minister U Nu, and other leaders of the Union of Burma. Just as warm was our welcome in Afghanistan by the people and also by Prime Minister Mohammed Daoud and the other leaders of Afghanistan.

We certainly did not think that the enthusiasm and cordial friendship expressed by the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan towards us applied to us personally.

We saw in them an expression of the boundless love and respect of the peoples of those friendly countries for the peoples of the Soviet Union.

We saw in them a sincere acknowledgement by the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan of the historical services of the peoples of the Soviet Union in the fight for world peace and a bright future for all humanity. (*Stormy applause.*)

While in India, Burma and Afghanistan we had an extensive exchange of opinions with the Governments of those countries on many of the most important questions of international politics. Everywhere we met general mutual understanding on all questions discussed. The chief things which we discussed were peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems and questions concerning the further development of the economic and cultural links between our countries.

The course of the talks showed unanimity of views and we quickly found mutually acceptable solutions for all questions and the necessary formulas for joint declarations and agreements.

That was the case in India as it was also in Burma and in Afghanistan. It is very pleasant to note this.

Does not this prove that with good will and honourable intentions of the leaders of countries it is possible and indispensable to solve by peaceful means all questions of mutual relations between countries in spite of differences in social systems?

There are some general questions the solution of which is absolutely indisputable and mutually acceptable, and in which all peoples are equally interested irrespective of whether they live in socialist or capitalist countries. In the solution of such questions our co-operation can be crowned with success.

The most obvious and convincing example of this is perhaps the mutual relations between the Soviet Union and India. The social and state systems in the Soviet Union and in India differ one from the other. We and the leaders of

India have different points of view on a number of questions. Neither we nor our friends, the leaders of the Indian state, try to hide this.

However, this does not hinder us and our Indian friends from keeping to the Five Principles of peaceful co-existence on which we base our relations with other countries, or from maintaining and developing friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India. The cordial and friendly relations between our countries are progressing and developing.

It is in the same direction that our relations with the Union of Burma and Afghanistan are developing. Afghanistan has long been our friend and good neighbour.

As a result of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan mutually profitable economic agreements have been concluded between the Soviet Union and those countries, which will serve the interests of the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan.

In states like the Republic of India, the Union of Burma and Afghanistan we see equal partners in the fight for universal peace. Between us and the leaders of the countries, which we visited there is no difference of opinion on questions of the fight for peace. And these questions are the main ones. Their solution deeply concerns all humanity.

Our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan and the results of the Soviet-Indian, Soviet-Burmese and Soviet-Afghan talks have produced a favourable impression on all friends of peace.

In some countries, however, our visit called forth unfriendliness on the part of certain individuals, including official personalities, and even outspoken hostility and attacks on us.

This was to be observed mainly in Britain and the United States of America. Some echoes or rather undertones were to be heard in other countries too. For example, in Canada,

where the Foreign Minister, Mr. Pearson, made a short-sighted declaration.

What was the reason for this?

They censured us, lectured us and reacted in various other ways towards us because from their point of view we were wrong in attacking colonialists, because we sharply criticized that form of oppression and plundering of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries by the imperialists.

Well, what was new in what we said about the colonialists and colonial regimes? Why did our utterances call forth such a furious reaction among the colonialists and their advocates? The facts we quoted are known to all and are indisputable.

Take the fact, for example, that the British colonialists, not the people but the colonialists, lorded it over India for nearly two centuries and that for a long time they oppressed the peoples of Burma and Afghanistan.

What did that lead to?

I allow myself a reference to an authoritative expert in this question, the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, who enjoys universal respect.

In his book *The Discovery of India* he points out that "the most obvious fact is the sterility of British rule in India and the thwarting of Indian life by it. Alien rule is inevitably cut off from the creative energies of the people it dominates. When this alien rule has its own economic and cultural centre far from the subject country and is further backed by racialism, this divorce is complete, and leads to spiritual and cultural starvation of the subject peoples."

Describing the effects of British rule in India, Mr. Nehru recalls the terrible famine which spread over the country during the Second World War. He writes:

"This famine unveiled the picture of India as it was below the thin veneer of the prosperity of a small number of people

at the top—a picture of poverty and ugliness and human decay after all these generations of British rule. That was the culmination and fulfilment of British rule in India. It was no calamity of nature or play of the elements that brought this famine, nor was it caused by actual war operations and enemy blockade. Every competent observer is agreed that it was a man-made famine which could have been foreseen and avoided."

To this we can add that according to figures given by the Indian economist B. Singh, author of the book *Population and Food Planning in India*, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century alone India suffered famine eighteen times; at that time 26 million persons died of hunger. In the twentieth century the scale of famine grew. In 1943 alone about three and a half million persons died of hunger in India.

These are facts. Facts which do not speak in favour of the colonialists.

The fate of the Burmese people, who was also under the domination of the British colonialists, was just as tragic. As early as 1824, Britain started an armed conflict to seize Burma, which ended in 1885 by the complete occupation of the country. Burma was ruled by a governor-general with unlimited powers, appointed by Britain.

During the Second World War Burma was occupied by the Japanese. After Japan capitulated in 1945 the British colonialists returned to Burma and tried to restore their mastery. However, the patriotic forces of Burma, which had grown in the fight against Japanese occupation, offered determined resistance. In January 1948 the British imperialists were forced to grant Burma independence.

The peoples of India, as also of Burma and Afghanistan, did not invite the colonialists to plunder their countries. The colonialists asserted their mastery in those countries as the outcome of wars of conquest and plunder. The territo-

ries of India and Burma were not barren lands when the colonialists invaded them; they were inhabited by peoples who had a high culture of their own. It is known for example that the culture of the peoples of India was not inferior in level to the cultures of European countries, including Britain. But India was weak from the military point of view, she was not so well armed. That was the only reason why she fell a prey to the colonialists.

Some apologists of the colonial regime now say:
"Did we not volunteer to give India her freedom?"

That is, to put it mildly, a rather conventional way of expressing how and why the colonialists left India and agreed to the existence of an independent Republic of India.

They were forced to agree because it was their only way out. Had they tried to remain in India they would have sustained enormous losses and would have been driven out in the end by the Indian people just as the colonialists of all colours and shades and Chiang Kai-shek's corrupt band with them were driven out of China by the Chinese people. (*Stormy applause.*)

The colonialists sometimes like to say that they have a great historical role, that of spreading civilization. Such legends are intended for simpletons and overcredulous people who do not know history.

Perhaps the British colonialists did raise the culture of the popular masses in the countries they conquered, helped those countries to create their industry, to develop science and to raise the welfare of the people?

No, they were plunderers in the fullest sense of the word. They plundered those countries and greatly delayed their development. I remember how on a visit to a milk farm in Bombay the Chief Minister of the State of Bombay, Mr. Desai, said bitterly:

"Everything was reduced to nothing in the years of British rule. During those 200 years we nearly returned to barbarism."

The peoples of India, Burma and other countries where the colonialists ruled will need great efforts to liquidate the dire consequences of the mastery of the colonialists.

Is it not a fact that until recently more than 80 per cent of the population of India and 63 per cent of the population of Burma were illiterate?

It is also a fact that the standard of living of the population of India, the exploitation of which was a gold mine for British capitalists, is considerably lower than the living standard of the population of Britain. The same can be said of Burma and the other countries where the colonialists ruled for a long time.

"But," the defenders of the colonial system will say, "these countries were members of the British Empire and were on an almost equal footing with Britain."

Where is the equality they talk about?

We did not see any trace of it. We saw that as long as the mastery of the British colonialists lasted they built for themselves wonderful palaces in India and in Burma.

They created conditions for a handful of feudal lords, who went over to their side, and supported them. But the millions of the Indian people were deprived of all rights and most cruelly exploited.

The Indians could naturally not put up with such a situation. The Indian people and all its fighters against the power of the colonialists in India, under the leadership of prominent men like Gandhi, Nehru and other leaders, played a great role in the conquest of India's political independence. We naturally sympathized with them in their fight, rejoiced in their successes, and give them their due for the courage they showed. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We are now told that by opposing the colonialists and unmasking their plunderous policy we showed a certain unfriendliness towards Britain and other countries, although we did not name any other countries and did not name Britain very often either. (*Animation.*) But we do not want to play hide and seek. We know just as the whole world does who were the colonialists in India, Burma and Afghanistan.

Indeed, when we spoke of the ignoble role of the colonialists we meant the British colonialists also. But the colonialists are not Britain and her people. The British colonialists will never have the right to identify themselves with the people of Britain.

There was nothing in our speeches that was at all insulting for Britain or the British people. We have a deep respect for the talented and hard-working British people and we desire friendship with them. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We said nothing insulting or offensive for the British Government either. We condemned and still do condemn the colonial system, considering that the sooner it ends the better it will be, for it is extremely unjust and inhuman. The sooner the peoples of the colonial countries are freed from it the better it will be. We are the sincerest friends of those who fight against colonial slavery and colonial dependence. (*Applause.*) We shall rejoice in and acclaim the liquidation of colonial regimes. I think the majority of the British people will do the same. (*Applause.*)

The time when the colonialists could boss it over the colonial and dependent countries with impunity is receding into the past. But the colonialists themselves will not, of course, wish to part of their own free will with a system which enables them to plunder whole peoples. That is not a thing to count on.

In our speeches and acts we wish to express our sympathy with the peoples who have not yet freed themselves from the yoke of colonialism and their fight for national liberation. (*Prolonged applause.*)

We understand that if the colonialists feel insulted it is not because in our speeches we condemn the past activity of the colonialists in India and Burma.

In their efforts to justify by some means the activity of their predecessors in the oppression of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries they try to maintain the present positions of the colonialists, which are still powerful enough. For even now they have a lot of colonies.

Let us just take Africa. It is divided entirely between European and non-European countries. There are various forms and various methods of pursuing colonialist policy, but that does not make the chains of colonial slavery any the lighter. Those chains strangle the peoples of colonial and dependent countries and make them hate the colonialists.

The peoples of these countries rise with greater and greater determination to fight against the colonial regimes. And we sympathize with their struggle and wish them every success. (*Stormy applause.*)

One must simply wonder at certain short-sighted politicians accusing us of hostility towards Britain or America and saying that we want to raise quarrels between those countries and India, Burma and other countries. They themselves commit hostile acts towards those countries.

What, for example, can be the attitude in India to the statement made by Mr. Dulles and the Foreign Minister of Portugal, Mr. Cunha, concerning Goa?

Just think of what Dulles said: he took the liberty of openly declaring that the Indian territory of Goa must belong to Portugal just because the Portuguese conquerors seized it 400 years ago.

We are now told that by opposing the colonialists and unmasking their plunderous policy we showed a certain unfriendliness towards Britain and other countries, although we did not name any other countries and did not name Britain very often either. (*Animation.*) But we do not want to play hide and seek. We know just as the whole world does who were the colonialists in India, Burma and Afghanistan.

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In this respect the Indian press justly reminded Mr. Dulles that 250 years ago what is now the United States of America was a British colony, and that if we followed his logic then he, Dulles, should consider himself even now as a subject of Her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain. *(Laughter. Applause.)*

To agree with Mr. Dulles' statement would be not only blessing but even perpetuating the system of colonial oppression.

We, of course, cannot agree with it. We are of the opinion that it is an incorrect statement arising from an incorrect attitude to the interests of peoples. And the Indian people, as well as the leading politicians in India, estimated the Dulles-Cunha joint statement about Goa at its just worth, for this statement is a disgrace for civilized states.

Allow me, in the same connection, to say a few words about another question over which the Indian people are rightly worried, the so-called Kashmir question. During our visit to Kashmir Nikolai Alexandrovich Bulganin and I said clearly and definitely what Soviet people think on this question, which rose not in the people but was artificially conjured up by certain states who wish to sow enmity between peoples.

In Kashmir we were convinced that its people regard its territory as an inalienable part of the Republic of India. This question has been irrevocably decided by the people of Kashmir and it is our profound conviction that the Kashmir people will succeed in finally arranging its affairs without any interference from outside, whether or not that pleases those who desire to create in Kashmir a new centre of unrest and international dispute. *(Applause.)*

The solicitude of the Indian people and their Government for the consolidation of their state and for the satisfaction of the legitimate desires of all the peoples inhabiting the

Republic of India has the understanding and sympathy of the Soviet people, as have also the desires of all peoples fighting for their national independence.

In our speeches in India and Burma we said that our country is European and Asian at the same time, and that a large part of its territory lies on the Asian continent. At the same time we stressed that all the peoples of the Soviet Union, irrespective of whether they live in the European or the Asian part of the country and of the colour of their skin and their religious beliefs, make up a single brotherly family, strong in its indestructible friendship. All the peoples of our country are united by the great aim of building communism. *(Stormy applause.)*

The Soviet Union is a great multi-national state composed of sixteen equal voluntarily united Union Republics. All power in our country belongs to the working class, the labouring peasantry and the intellectuals—the workers of Soviet society.

We have always been opposed to national oppression, to the exploitation of man by man whatever its form, and more so to the mastery of the colonialists who have brought so much suffering to humanity. We declared this once more quite frankly and straightforwardly in our speeches in India and Burma, underlining that the colonial system is anti-popular and profoundly unjust.

Why are the colonialists so worried?

Because our words stirred enormous sympathy in the popular masses. And not only where we spoke, but where people heard of our speeches and where they will still hear more of the unshakable position of the Soviet Union, condemning the colonial system of oppression and enslavement. *(Stormy applause.)*

These are words of truth, and the imperialists will not succeed in keeping them out by any iron curtain.

It must be noted that the enemies of colonialism are not the only ones to censure Dulles' position; it is censured too by men who are not opponents of the colonial regime. As an instance we may quote the speech by American Senator Kefauver.

"We in the United States," the Senator said, "must completely disassociate ourselves from the old colonialism in Asia."

Note the fact that Mr. Kefauver does not call for a renunciation of colonialism in general, but of the "old" colonialism. (*Laughter and animation.*)

He would like the colonialists to look for new forms in order to consolidate their colonial mastery and advises "new-fashioned" colonialism.

That is why he gives the challenge: "We must not allow our aid to be used to prop up bad governments."

That is a most valuable acknowledgement.

The colonialists see how determinedly the peoples are rising against colonial slavery. They see that the peoples are prepared for self-sacrifice and courageous feats and a selfless fight for the freedom and national independence of their countries. The colonialists have already been driven out of a large number of countries.

An inspiring example for all the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries has been set by the great Chinese people, who have thrown off the yoke of foreign oppression, taken their destiny in their own hands and created a powerful Chinese People's Republic, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party, and are now scoring successes in the building of socialism. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The colonialists have now decided to change the forms of their colonial domination. They more and more seldom use harsh forms of violence such as sending troops to colonial countries and other acts of gross interference in the affairs of enslaved countries.

Now they do it more delicately: they bribe people and the powers that be, they implant "good governments" and create aggressive blocs like the Baghdad pact.

They release funds for what they call "economic aid," give "free" arms to certain countries. But in payment for these arms the states which receive them must supply the colonialists with cannon fodder and raise great armies, thus exhausting their own people.

The colonialists give one dollar in the form of "aid" in order later to receive ten dollars in exchange by the exploitation of the peoples who have accepted that "aid." When they succeed in this they enslave the peoples politically too. These are the "new" forms of colonial rule.

This does not apply to the countries of Asia alone, or to Africa or the other so-called underdeveloped countries. The U.S. monopolists are vigorously introducing these forms of "aid" in the countries of Europe. There is a strong flavour of this about NATO too.

How can we explain such "magnanimity" on the part of the United States, which induces it to supply free arms to European countries, including Western Germany which herself is a highly developed country? The aim they pursue is the same. To fetter to themselves with chains of gold the underdeveloped countries and the highly developed ones as well.

Exposing this policy, we say that NATO and other similar blocs are organizations which pursue far-reaching political and economic aims.

They say that NATO was organized because the Soviet Union displays aggressiveness and therefore some super-mighty united army of the states incorporated in NATO must be created to oppose the Soviet Union and all the countries of the socialist camp.

It is not difficult to understand for whom and for what such lies are needed. They are resorted to in order to divert

the attention of the popular masses from the changes now taking place in countries which are becoming more and more dependent on the U.S. monopolists.

But the mirage thus artificially created is already beginning to fade, and people now come to realize where truth is and where untruth.

People are beginning to reason as follows: if the Soviet Union indeed intended to lay the road to the new social organization in other countries by means of war it would have done so long ago.

Who in fact does not know that it was the Soviet Land which had the strongest army at the end of the war? Nothing hindered the Soviet Union then from pushing forward its armies and occupying the whole of Europe. Yet that did not happen, and it could not happen.

There is a well-known principle of Marxism-Leninism that revolutions are not exported but are achieved by the peoples themselves fighting for their emancipation. The Soviet people always followed and will follow the path of peaceful co-existence shown by the great Lenin, which provides for non-interference in the internal affairs of other states. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Why, then, since the end of the war have some imperialist circles been fanning war hysteria in their attempts to scare peoples with an imaginary "Soviet menace"?

Just for their own selfish profits.

Their aim is clear: war hysteria is necessary for the imperialists in order to plunder the people with impunity, to develop war industry at the cost of great taxation in the interests of the monopoly bosses who are working for war.

Thereby they accumulate enormous capital. It is sufficient to remember that the big U.S. monopolies now draw two and a half times more profits from production of war material than they did during the war.

In 1955 the profits of American corporations according to incomplete data were 43,000 million dollars. The monopolists have therefore enough funds to give what they call "aid" to those countries which the United States draws into its sphere of influence. In reality this is not aid but throwing crumbs from the master's table on terms equal to slavery.

The Soviet Union condemns such a policy. It bases its relations with other countries on equality and mutual advantage and on non-interference in the internal affairs of those countries.

When we give economic or technical help to this or that country we do it as friends, not imposing our own conditions.

We have no superfluous capital. Our economy is run according to a plan. We are not interested in exporting capital or in exporting goods which we produce in the quantity required for our country and for our allies and to guarantee trade with foreign countries. For the time being some articles are produced in our country in lesser quantities than we need for the satisfaction of the growing requirements of the country.

In spite of this, however, we consider it our duty to share with our friends and to help them as brothers. Such help, rendered on conditions of mutual advantage, is profitable to both sides. Our friends see that they get disinterested help from us out of funds assigned from our domestic resources. And our friends cannot but appreciate this, for it shows our honourable intentions.

In these conditions the monopolists are obliged to change their methods to a certain extent. Some of the more reasonable bourgeois figures now say that economic help to the underdeveloped countries from the capitalist countries must be intensified. That is not bad. Let the capitalist countries give such help. It is much better than involving those countries in war blocs and alliances.

This aid which the capitalist states intend to render the countries which recently won their independence cannot but be regarded as a form of Soviet assistance to these countries. For if the Soviet Union did not exist, would monopolist circles and imperialist states render help to underdeveloped countries? Of course they would not. That never happened before. (*Animation. Applause.*)

But I have said that the so-called "free" aid can in reality lead to the enslaving of those to whom it is offered if those countries are not discriminate in their attitude towards it.

Recently reviewing the successes achieved by the Conservative Government the then British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Macmillan, said among other things that that government had achieved success in the settlement of affairs with Iran, with the result that Abadan petrol began to flow to Britain in a broad stream.

But this is wealth belonging to Iran that is flowing away. It is gold going from Iran into the vaults of British, American, Dutch and French banks. And this at a time when the peoples of Iran are in great need. By their "aid" to Iran they are picking up Iran petrol dirt-cheap and growing rich on it and on the hunger and poverty of the Iranian people.

We do not say to the peoples of Asia: do not take aid offered to you by the American and British monopolists. But we honestly warn them that they must be careful with such "aid," because the monopolists do not give anything free.

Capitalists do nothing without getting paid for it. Capital cannot exist without profits.

Comrade Deputies,

I already said that we have kept the best memories of our sojourn in India, of our meetings with the leaders of the Republic of India, with the leaders of the states, with the

workers, peasants and intellectuals of India, with all we came in contact with.

We highly appreciate friendship with India, with her great and hard-working people, friendship with Mr. Nehru and other prominent Indian politicians with whom we established contact, and we wish to maintain and develop our friendly relations.

We and our Indian friends should like to develop and strengthen these friendly relations without prejudice to our relations, or to those of India, with other states.

Our friendship, as we understand it, should not be confined to friendly contacts with one, two or several states. We want friendship with all states.

That is why we are glad of the friendly relations which our friends are developing with other states, including some with which we, for one reason or another, perhaps have somewhat strained or cool relations. Through the friend that we consider India to be we hope to improve our relations with those states.

We have always sincerely strived for friendship with all countries, including the capitalist countries. In particular we want friendship with the most powerful of the capitalist countries, the U.S.A., Britain and France.

When we have achieved this, and it depends mainly not on us but on the Governments and the peoples of the U.S.A., Britain and France, we shall have created the conditions for real peaceful co-existence and competition between the two systems.

Unfortunately, we have not yet achieved this, but we do not give up hope and shall spare no efforts to attain it. (*Applause.*)

The standpoint of the leaders of India, who have declared that India occupies a neutral position between us and other states, meets with full understanding and support from us.

India indeed is a neutral state and deserves trust and respect from us as well as from other states.

Our relations with the great Chinese People's Republic are most brotherly. The peoples of our two countries are brothers.

Friendly relations have been established and are being strengthened between us and the Republic of India. Wherever we went in India we heard, coming from the hearts of the people, the words: "*Hindi Rusi bha'i bha'i!*" — "Indians and Russians are brothers!" (*Stormy applause.*)

The Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India make up one half of mankind and are a powerful force in the struggle for the maintenance and strengthening of world peace. (*Stormy applause.*)

Comrade Deputies,

Discussing the results of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan, analyzing our speeches in those countries, some foreign politicians and some of the more indiscriminate bourgeois journalists accuse the Soviet Union of renouncing the spirit of Geneva. That is untrue.

We are active partakers in the important contribution to the easing of international tension that took place as a result of the meeting of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers in Geneva.

We fought for that easing at the Conference of the Heads of Government and at the Conference of Foreign Ministers who were charged with considering such most important problems as the guarantee of security in Europe and the German problem, which is connected with it, the question of disarmament and the development of contacts between East and West.

It is not our fault that we have not yet achieved the results for which the peace-loving peoples are fighting in

their effort to ensure further relaxation of world tension and strengthen peace.

The Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers and the Conference of Foreign Ministers, particularly the former, were warmly acclaimed by all peoples in the world. The peoples' desire for relaxation of international tension and the strengthening of peace obliged the participants of these conferences to model their speeches and proposals accordingly.

Unfortunately, it must be acknowledged that the representatives of the Western Powers at the Conference of the Heads of Government went no further than fine words in support of a relaxation of international tension. This applies especially to their Foreign Ministers, who displayed no desire to work effectively and try to achieve the aims set before them by the Conference of the Heads of Government.

This shows that the Governments of the Western Powers, in sending their top representatives to the Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers, were not animated by the desire for a concrete solution of the questions on the agenda of the conference. In going to that conference they were making a concession to public opinion which exerted pressure on them.

The very fact of the convocation of the Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers, the declarations made at it and the programme of action outlined by the Heads of Government for their Foreign Ministers—all this naturally contributed to the relaxation of international tension and gave rise to hopes for some more concrete steps to avert military conflicts and end the "cold war." Thus the spirit of Geneva was born.

The peoples hailed this because they want peace, they want cuts in taxation, a decrease in expenditures on armaments,

they want these huge sums to be expended for raising the living standard of the population. That is the concrete desire of the peoples.

But what pleases the peoples, what the peoples dream of, does not please the capitalists, who are producing atomic and hydrogen bombs and other weapons. The prospects of a cut in armaments and still more of disarmament are considered by the monopolists as a prospect of a cut in profits, and that they can by no means agree to.

That is why, immediately after the Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers, those who produce means of destruction and those who carry out their will and occupy leading posts in the capitalist states, not only did not try to broaden and deepen the spirit of Geneva, but, on the contrary, they endeavoured to nip it in the bud.

As for the Soviet Union, during the Conference of the Heads of Government and at the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers, its representatives did all they could to achieve positive results.

Unfortunately, we met no reciprocity in our endeavour, and the questions about which all mankind is so deeply concerned were not settled.

We shall spare no efforts to settle these questions at last. But for that our efforts alone are not sufficient. The efforts of our partners are also needed.

Finally, an enormous role falls to the social forces, the forces of millions of people who are for the guarantee of security, for disarmament, for the relaxation of international tension and for the cessation of the "cold war."

The most acute question today is that of European security. On the solution of this question depends the settlement of other international problems. You know, however, that our partners in the negotiations, the U.S.A., Britain and France, opposed to this question the German problem.

Their position is that the German Democratic Republic must be united to Western Germany, liquidating the social gains of the workers in the G.D.R., and that that united German state must be armed to the teeth and at the same time included in NATO. On these conditions they are not unwilling to sign a treaty on European security, although in fact it would not lead to a guarantee of security in Europe but would, on the contrary, greatly increase the danger of a new war in Europe with all the terrible consequences for the peoples.

The supporters of this position do not hide the fact that such a military combination is designed for only one aim: to strengthen the camp of the NATO countries and to create for it a preponderance which would force the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies to capitulate to them and accept their conditions.

Fine security!

Every man of common sense will understand that such plans are not fated to be realized. And if there is a real desire to solve the problem of European security, the problem must be approached seriously, and the real situation taken into account.

This real situation is characterized first of all by the fact that on German territory at present there have been established two states with different political and social systems, one of them, the German Democratic Republic, following the path of struggle for the strengthening of peace and democracy, while the leaders of the other state, the German Federal Republic, are supporters of the policy "from strength" with the German Federal Republic a member of the aggressive North-Atlantic bloc.

What does this mean? It means that in the present conditions there is no real possibility for the unification of these two so different German states. But does that mean that it

is now impossible to guarantee collective security in Europe and thereby to contribute to the guarantee of world peace? No, by no means.

The ensuring of security in Europe and the provision of conditions for strengthening peace are in the interests of Britain and the U.S.S.R., France and Poland, Czechoslovakia and Belgium, all European states and the U.S.A. too.

If we really proceed from this principle and remember that both German states, which are now members of contending groups of states, could successfully be members of a general European system of security which could replace both these groups, the question can be solved in the way the interests of the peoples demand.

We see no other solution. Nobody will force us to strengthen with our own hands a military bloc directed against the Soviet Union and the other peace-loving states. (*Applause.*)

But that is just the aim of those who propose that we should agree to such a unification of Germany as would involve a unified Germany's membership in an aggressive anti-Soviet bloc.

First of all we should like the Germans themselves, especially in Western Germany, to understand us correctly on this question. The peoples of the U.S.S.R., Germany and the European countries of People's Democracy have twice been involved in the bloodshed of world wars, and the peoples of our country and of Germany had to bear the heaviest sacrifices of all in those wars. It is high time to think of this and to find the correct solution which will prevent the reoccurrence of such events in the future.

As for our relations with Western Germany, we have more than once declared that in the interests of the Soviet Union as well as of the German Federal Republic it is expedient that good friendly relations should be established between

our countries. All conditions are to hand for the establishment of such relations.

I shall remark in passing that our efforts for the guarantee of general European security and for an appropriate solution of the German question are in no degree opposed to the interests of Britain and France. On the contrary, if it is supposed for an instant that the completely unrealistic dream of militant personalities in the U.S.A. for the inclusion of a unified Germany in the aggressive bloc were realized, it would hardly be possible for the British and French to live in tranquillity. The German revanchists would have their hands untied. They would take what action they think fit, and naturally France would be the most tempting morsel for them.

We are not talking of this because we want it to be so. No, we shall do everything for it not to be so. But the experience of history teaches us that this danger exists all the more as France—and even Britain—is weaker than the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

That is why it is our sincere desire to be correctly understood in France and Britain too. Is it not better for us to co-ordinate our activities and find the right solution for the question of European security rather than waste our efforts on preparations to fight against one another? (*Prolonged applause.*)

In this connection I wish to recall that the proposals made at Geneva by the French Prime Minister, M. Edgar Faure, and the British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, provide a basis for negotiations on European security.

Agreement on this question would also ease the solution of other most important problems, including that of disarmament.

We are all well aware that at the Geneva conferences, just as in UNO, the Soviet Union put forward a number of concrete proposals for a cut in arms, the prohibition of atomic

and hydrogen weapons and the establishment of international control. Agreement on these questions was hindered by the change in the position of the U.S.A., which suddenly went back on its former proposals when we agreed to take them as a basis.

Now the U.S.A., laying aside, in fact, the question of a cut in armaments, brings to the fore the only proposal made by President Eisenhower at Geneva, that of exchange of military information and of unhindered air photography.

We have already pointed out that the air photography suggestion does not solve the problem. As long as a cut in armaments is not actually foreseen, but an increase of armaments is contemplated, the flying over territories and taking of air photographs can only help to fan military passions and war hysteria. Thus we do not get control or anything like control. It is in actual fact a means for better reconnoitring the forces of the other country. Is it not clear that the information thus obtained can be used in order to pick out the appropriate time for a sudden attack on it. The question is: what is the difference between this and what is called military reconnaissance? There is no substantial difference.

It is quite another matter to show a realistic approach to the problem of disarmament: to agree on levels of armament, on the prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, to establish a reasonable system of international control, practicable in present conditions, on railway junctions, naval bases, aerodromes and so forth, which would make it possible to prevent sudden attack on one country by another. Such measures could be quite well realized and all peoples would welcome them.

Some opponents of disarmament proceed from the false supposition that they are superior in power and it is therefore disadvantageous for them to disarm. We have warned

and still warn these champions of the infamous policy "from strength" that they may make serious miscalculations in their hazardous game. (*Stormy and prolonged applause.*)

We do not want to scare anybody. Still less do we want to boast about our military and technical achievements. But in order to cool the ardour of the most violent champions of the armament race we must remind them of the results of the experiments recently carried out on the latest Soviet hydrogen bomb.

The power of this weapon, as was already stated, is equal to that of millions of tons of ordinary explosive and it can be considerably increased. We are still in favour of the prohibition of the production, testing and use of all kinds of atomic and hydrogen weapons. But those who are opposed to this would do well not to forget the results of the experiments referred to. (*Stormy applause.*)

The question of the development of contacts between East and West, which was discussed at Geneva, is also of great importance. The Soviet Union does in fact promote the development of such contacts. In our desire to relax international tension and establish business contacts with various foreign personalities, we, for example, have not refused and do not refuse visas to foreigners who express the desire to come to the Soviet Union and learn about its life.

This year many American senators and congressmen were in our country; we willingly received them and had conversations with them.

Many correspondents of reactionary American newspapers who specialize in inventing the most absurd anti-Soviet articles travelled freely over the Soviet Union. We knew about this and allowed them to come to the Soviet Union, although it was common knowledge that such journalists come to us only in order to carry on writing in the spirit of the "cold war."

But the American authorities have so far allowed the travel to America of only a small agricultural delegation, a delegation of builders and a single group of Soviet journalists, who, by the way, had to wait for their visas for nine months. Children were even born to some of them during that time. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

We want an intensification of the contacts of Soviet people with the widest circles of the U.S.A. and other countries. We want the strengthening of mutual friendship but not interference of other countries in the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, as someone suggested in Geneva. Naturally, we will never allow that.

We cannot refrain from noting in passing that some statesmen in the West have recently manifested an understanding of the spirit of Geneva which, to say the least, is a strange one. They want the Soviet Union unilaterally to disarm and to disarm morally, spiritually and ideologically too.

Talk on this subject is not new, this is not the first year it has been going on, although life has already given severe lessons to those who wanted to impose such conditions on the Soviet Union.

I shall not be revealing any secret if I say that this unrealistic policy towards the Soviet Union is being pursued most persistently in the United States of America, the ignoble role of its singular theoretician having been taken on by the present U.S. State Secretary, Mr. Dulles.

It is he who for a long period has been actively agitating for the infamous idea of "hurling back," "massive retaliation" and other absurd things.

Not wishing, obviously, to reckon with reality, certain circles in the U.S.A. still try under present conditions after the Geneva Conference of the Heads of Government of the Four Powers to speak the language of the already long bankrupt

policy "from strength." This is the source of all the talk that "pressure must continue to be exerted on the Soviet Union," "to force the Reds to retreat."

Special mention must be made in this connection of the stand taken at present by some prominent U.S. statesmen, including President Eisenhower, who, as we know, spoke a lot at Geneva about the necessity for relaxation of international tension.

I refer in particular to the so-called Christmas Messages of President Eisenhower, State Secretary Dulles and other responsible personages in America to the populations of the People's Democracies, messages which in no way reflect the spirit of Geneva and are nothing else but gross interference in the internal affairs of free and sovereign states, which are also members of the United Nations.

In their Christmas Messages these American leaders stated that they "pray" for a change in the existing order in those countries and openly promise the "support" of the United States of America in this respect.

Does this show a desire for reconciliation, an endeavour to strengthen and extend the spirit of Geneva?

No, it tends in exactly the opposite direction, it leads to the fanning of passions and, consequently, to a new armament race, to the aggravation of the threat of war.

I really did not want to talk about all this and especially of Mr. Eisenhower, for whom I have particular respect. It may be said that Khrushchov, when he talks about these questions, wants to do away with the spirit of Geneva. But really it is not I who put forward all these questions; I am just answering those who violate the spirit of Geneva, by openly interfering in the internal affairs of our allies and friends, the countries of People's Democracy.

As I have come to talk of the Christmas Messages which have such an outspoken political character, we can under-

stand their authors for they belong to pretty solid firms. Let us take as an example an eminent representative of that group, Mr. Harriman. It is common knowledge that he is a multi-millionaire. Others too have more or less solid capital; God knows how much, we have not counted it; but if they have fewer millions than Harriman, they certainly want to have more than he has. (*Animation.*)

They are therefore bothered not so much about human souls as about their own fortunes. (*Laughter. Applause.*)

When the authors of the Christmas Messages advise a change of order in the countries of People's Democracy, they are backing Bat'a, Radziwill, Potocki, Bratianu and other big capitalists and landed magnates who were pitched out of the countries of People's Democracy by the workers of those countries. (*Prolonged applause.*) But the peoples of those countries must not be identified with the Bat'as, the Radziwills, the Potockis, the Bratianus and others.

The American authors of the by no means religious Christmas Messages are closely connected with the capitalists who were driven away or fled from the countries of People's Democracy. In their desire to change the new way of life in the countries of People's Democracy these American politicians want the restoration in those countries of the capitalist order, the restoration of capitalist works and factories, the return of the land to the big estate-owners.

But Mr. Harriman does not want the capitalists alone to return to those countries, he himself apparently wants to boss it in Hungary's economy as he did before People's Democracy was established there.

But there is no return to the old. No Christmas Messages will help either the landlords or the capitalists, the bankers or the big tradesmen, or any other exploiters whom the workers have driven out of the countries of People's Democracy. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Here we can recall our own experience. When the peoples of our country overthrew the capitalist order and created the first state of workers and peasants in the world there were no few champions of the old capitalist order within the country as well as abroad, who prayed hard for the restoration in Russia of the old capitalist order.

Abroad they were praying with all their hearts for the Milyukovs, the Tereshchenkos, the Hugheses, the Ryabushinskys and other representatives of big capital, for the restoration of the power of the capitalists and landowners. But what came of it?

All the attempts of international imperialism to rehabilitate the capitalist order in our country fell through. The Soviet people, led by its experienced leader, the Communist Party, shattered all who tried by force of arms or by various other methods to restore the capitalist order in Russia.

The peoples of our country set out assuredly and firmly on the path of socialist development and were the first in the world to build a socialist society, thus turning into a reality the age-old dream of labouring mankind. They created a powerful socialist industry, the level of whose development can be characterized by the following figures: in 1955 the gross production of all industry in the U.S.S.R. exceeded the 1913 level 27 times, while the production of means of production rose sixtyfold, the production of electric power 86 times and engineering production more than 160 times. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Agriculture in our country is growing and developing.

Whereas before the revolution 76 per cent of the population of Russia was illiterate, illiteracy in our country had disappeared in the main by the Second World War.

This year there are nearly 35 million pupils in the schools and technical schools in our country. In the higher educational establishments there are now more than 1,865,000 stu-

dents. Considerably more specialists are turned out in the Soviet Union than in Britain, France, Italy and other West European capitalist countries taken together. (*Applause.*)

It was not without reason that that active opponent of communism, Mr. Churchill, who not only prayed for the restoration of the capitalist order in our country, but wanted to restore that order in Russia by force, is now compelled to admit that in the preparation of specialists the Soviet Union has by far outstripped the capitalist countries. That grieves Mr. Churchill but it gladdens us all. (*Stormy applause.*)

The remarkable results in the development of our country are an inspiring example for the workers in the countries of People's Democracy and the peoples of other countries.

The peoples of the whole world, including those of the colonial and dependent states, are opposing with growing determination the exploitation of man by man, the oppression of some countries by others.

In that we cannot fail to see an expression of the great force of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism which are penetrating into the conscience of millions of people on all continents. The future belongs to these teachings. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

The workers in the countries of People's Democracy, who have been convinced by their own experience that only the overthrow of the power of the capitalists, the passing of power into the hands of the people, leads to real freedom, will answer the intrigues of their ill-wishers by rallying still more closely round their Communist Parties, Workers' Parties and Parties of Labour.

No matter how the capitalists rage they will not succeed in disorganizing the socialist camp. We shall continue to march along the path shown to us by the great Lenin; we shall go on together firmly hand in hand, sweeping from our

way in our countries all that hinders progress in the building of communist society. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Certain more far-sighted and sober politicians in Britain, the United States of America and France realize that the stand taken of late by certain circles in the Western Powers is contrary to the spirit of Geneva.

I may quote the recent speech by Lord Chorley who admitted that the Western Powers were largely responsible for the failure of the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers.

"I must say," said Lord Chorley, "that I think the theory that the Western Powers have the monopoly of reasonableness will not stand up to examination...." I shall point out, by the way, that we quite agree with this. (*Animation.*) "They have in fact pursued what seems to me to be quite obviously the policy of old-fashioned 'power politics.' On the other hand, the U.S.S.R. has, I think, made quite substantial concessions and pursued a policy which is much more flexible and as a result of that has obtained advantage."

One cannot fail to agree with this appraisal.

Trying to throw the blame on others and to accuse us of violating the spirit of Geneva, some bourgeois journalists refer to my speeches and to speeches of other Soviet statesmen and politicians. They complain that in our speeches we say that the teachings of Marxism-Leninism will triumph. Is that violating the spirit of Geneva?

We did say and we still say that in peaceful competition between the two economic systems the socialist system will win, being the most progressive and most advanced system which relies on the only correct Marxist-Leninist theory. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are not surprised and we do not protest when the ideologists of the capitalist world, that is, of the opposite system, affirm that capitalism will win. We consider such an argument natural. Only history will decide it.

If some politicians consider our assurance that socialism, the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, will win as a violation of the spirit of Geneva, they evidently misunderstand the spirit of Geneva. They should remember that we have never renounced and never will renounce our ideas or the fight for the victory of communism. They will never see ideological disarmament in our country. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Our conviction in the final victory of communism is not to the liking of the supporters of capitalism, and that neither surprises nor embarrasses us. But we say: in this competition, in this contest we shall never start an aggressive war; we shall tirelessly oppose all armament races and support disarmament, the strengthening of peace and peaceful co-existence.

Thus facts convincingly show that it is not the Soviet Union but our Geneva Conference partners who are violating the spirit of Geneva.

Let us take the following examples. The ink on the joint communiqué on the results of the Geneva Conference was still wet, when certain of our partners at that conference started to enlist new countries into the aggressive Baghdad pact; they have drawn Iran into it and are drawing other states into it.

At the first sitting of the present session of the Supreme Soviet we listened with attention to a speech by the head of the parliamentary delegation of Iran, Mohammed Sayed, who said that the people of Iran want peace and friendship with the Soviet Union.

We greet this statement, but we cannot refrain from saying that in spite of all the efforts of the Soviet Union to guarantee friendly relations with Iran the Government of that country has entered the Baghdad military bloc and therefore put the territory of Iran at the disposal of aggres-

sive forces who are hatching plans of violence against the Soviet Union.

This applies not only to Iran, it applies to Turkey too. It will be recalled that when Turkey was led by Kemal Atatürk and Ismet Inonu we had very good relations with her which were subsequently darkened. We cannot say that it was only Turkey's fault, on our side, too, inappropriate declarations were made which cast a shadow over our relations.

But subsequently measures were taken on our part to change the situation and restore friendly relations with that country. On the Turkish statesmen's part, however, there was unfortunately no reciprocity.

American generals and admirals travel through Turkey making bellicose speeches, demonstrating their power by visits of naval detachments.

It is hardly reasonable of the Governments of Iran and Turkey to link their fate with the aggressive Baghdad pact and to refuse to establish good-neighbourly, friendly relations with the Soviet Union.

The position of Pakistan towards her neighbours is a similar one; she is also a member of the Baghdad pact. Is it not a fact that Pakistan's relations with India, with Afghanistan and with the Soviet Union leave much to be desired?

In particular we cannot fail to notice that quite recently the American Admiral Radford visited Pakistan and then Iran. He travelled through these countries obviously not in order to strengthen economic and cultural ties, but for quite different aims.

This visit by an American admiral confirms the fears expressed previously that contrary to their national interests Pakistan and Iran are being more and more involved in adventurous machinations by the organizers of aggressive blocs. There is no doubt that if Pakistan had adopted the same independent attitude as, for example, India, quite

different conditions would have been provided for the establishment of friendly relations between Pakistan and neighbouring countries.

We are sure that it will be understood in Pakistan in what an unenviable position the country has fallen and that the necessary conclusions will be drawn. We on our side are ready to meet attempts to establish friendly relations with Pakistan.

In connection with the Baghdad pact a few words must be said about the situation in the Middle East countries. As is known, the organizers of the Baghdad pact are doing all they can to draw the Arab countries into that pact. However, they are meeting growing opposition from the peoples of those countries.

The Soviet public has followed and still follows with sympathy the courageous struggle of the people of Jordan against attempts to include the country in the Baghdad pact against its will.

We understand the strivings of the peoples of the Arab countries who are fighting for their full liberation from foreign dependence. At the same time the activity of the state of Israel, which ever since it came into existence has been threatening its neighbours and pursuing a hostile policy towards them, must be condemned.

It is clear that such a policy does not correspond to the national interests of the state of Israel and that behind those who are pursuing it are imperialist states which are known to all. They are trying to make use of Israel as a weapon against the Arab peoples with a view to plundering the natural wealth of that area.

While the Western Powers continue the policy of armament race and build up aggressive blocs, the Soviet Union is consistently and firmly pursuing its peace-loving foreign policy, strengthening friendship with all peoples who desire

it in the interests of the consolidation of peace and security.

This year alone the Soviet Union cut down its armed forces by 640,000 men, gave up its military base in Finland—Porkkala Udd—and withdrew its troops from Port Arthur before the appointed time. The Soviet Union signed the State Treaty with Austria, which has now set out on the path of permanent neutrality, and withdrew its troops from her territory; it established diplomatic relations with the German Federal Republic and undertook a number of other just as effective measures for the strengthening of peace.

The Soviet Union re-established friendly relations with Yugoslavia, with whom for a long time we had had abnormal, tense relations. We will continue to develop our good-neighbourly, friendly relations with Yugoslavia, to extend economic and cultural ties between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. (*Prolonged applause.*)

Our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan holds a prominent place in this series of measures, as also do the agreements achieved between the Soviet Union and these countries.

During the discussion on the State Budget for 1956 at the present session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. we all voted unanimously for a decrease in expenditure on defence needs by almost 10,000 million rubles in comparison with last year.

On the other hand, the Defence Minister of the U.S.A., Mr. Wilson, declared recently that expenditures for the maintenance of the U.S. armed forces will be increased in the new budget year by 1,000 million dollars and will amount to the enormous sum of 35,500 million dollars. Wilson did not say that over and above this the budget foresees quite a considerable sum for other military expenditures as, for example, for the production of atomic arms, the accu-

mulation of supplies of strategic material and military "aid" to foreign states.

Thus, whereas on our side there are concrete steps to ease international tension, on the other side, on the side of the Western Powers, we unfortunately see nothing of the kind. On the contrary, in the United States of America allocations for armament are being increased. Leading politicians in that country are extending aggressive pacts, and some of them come forward with warlike declarations which are by no means directed towards the strengthening of the spirit of Geneva.

Who therefore is strengthening the spirit of Geneva and who is undermining it?

In conclusion I should like to dwell on the question of the further existence of the Information Bureau of Communist and Workers' Parties, which in the West is called the Cominform.

Strictly speaking, there are no grounds for such a question to arise. But foreign journalists in India often asked us: "Why do you not dissolve the Cominform? Can the activity of the Communist Parties in other countries not be stopped?"

Other people asked us the same question in their conversations.

We in turn said to those people: "But why do you not suggest the dissolution of the Socialist International? Why do you not suggest to do away with the various international unions of capitalists?"

Our interlocutors could give no answer.

Naturally, the Cominform is not to the liking of the opponents of communism. But scientific communism as a doctrine existed almost a hundred years before the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties was founded. Collaboration within the framework of the Cominform is a domestic matter for the Communist and Workers' Parties which stand on the platform of Marxism-Leninism and prop-

agate a definite order of social organization. The Communist Parties represent the working class, they express and defend its interests, the vital interests of the popular masses.

It is not only the Cominform that the enemies of communism do not like. Still less to their liking is the irrefutable fact that the all-triumphant doctrine of communism is every year winning to its banner more and more people in all countries. (*Prolonged applause.*)

The Soviet people will remember how at one time the S.-R.'s, Mensheviks and other enemies of the working class said that they were for Soviet power but without the Bolsheviks. By such slogans those parties wished to deceive the people, to tear them away from their leader, the Communist Party, founded by the great Lenin. They knew that power could be changed, but that it was impossible to change the Communist Party. It is impossible to force it to retreat from the defence of the interests of the working class, the interests of the people, for the Communist Party is the genuine leader of the working class and the labouring peasantry, the leader of the people and the mouthpiece of their vital interests. (*Stormy applause.*)

The Communist Parties in all countries, following the example of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, link all their activity indissolubly with the interests of the people, the interests of the working class. This is not to the liking of those who wish to oppress the people for ever. No more to their liking is the international solidarity of the working class; they naturally wish that the Cominform should cease to exist. But that does not depend on them! (*Stormy applause.*)

* * *

These are perhaps all the questions which it was necessary in my opinion to dwell upon in detail.

To conclude my speech I should like to express the assur-

ance that the Supreme Soviet will approve the results of our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan, for it promotes the strengthening of friendship and co-operation of the peoples of the Soviet Union with the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan. And in the friendship of the peoples of the world lies the mighty source of the power of the peoples who are barring the way to the outbreak of a new war. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Allow me, Comrade Deputies, from this rostrum to express once more our heartfelt gratitude to the great Indian people, to the Government of the Republic of India and to the Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, personally (*stormy applause*); to the friendly people of the Union of Burma, her Government and the Prime Minister of Burma, U Nu, personally (*stormy applause*); to the friendly people of Afghanistan, her Government and to the Prime Minister, Mohammed Daoud, personally. (*Stormy applause.*)

We are grateful from the bottom of our hearts for the hospitality, solicitude and affection the millions of people in those countries showed towards the Soviet Union and to our great people during our visit to India, Burma and Afghanistan. (*Stormy applause.*) From the bottom of our hearts we thank the statesmen and public figures whom we met, the leaders of the states and provinces which we visited and in which we were everywhere given the most cordial welcome. (*Stormy applause.*)

Long live the great friendship of all the peoples of the world! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the Soviet people, the powerful and fearless fighter for the cause of peace! (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Long live the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the inspirer and organizer of all the victories of the Soviet Union! (*Stormy and prolonged applause and cheers. All rise.*)

APPENDIX

**JOINT DECLARATION OF N. A. BULGANIN,
CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL
OF MINISTERS,
N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, MEMBER
OF THE PRESIDIUM
OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET,
AND JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA**

At the invitation of the Government of the Soviet Union the Prime Minister of India visited the Soviet Union in June 1955. He was given a warm welcome and his trip strengthened friendship and mutual understanding between the peoples of both countries. A Joint Statement by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and the Prime Minister of India was published towards the end of the visit, on June 22, 1955.

At the invitation of the Indian Government N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and other official representatives of the Soviet Union accompanying them visited India in November-December 1955. The population of India enthusiastically welcomed them wherever they went. Their visit strengthened the bonds of friendship linking the two countries and their peoples. N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov visited different agricultural, industrial and hydro-technical developments, and regions where agricultural reconstruction is being carried out, state-owned farms and other centres of Indian economic development.

The visit to India of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchov,

Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and the visit to the Soviet Union of the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, provided them with the opportunity of making personal acquaintance with the peoples of these countries and their way of life, with the problems, achievements, and aspirations of each country, and led to mutual understanding between them and the peoples of their respective states, based on mutual respect, good will and tolerance.

The above-mentioned Joint Statement published on June 22, 1955, expressed their firm adherence to the Five Principles also known as *Panch Shila*.

These Principles proclaim that countries differing from one another politically, socially and economically can and must co-operate on the basis of mutual respect, and non-interference in one another's home affairs, and must abide by the policy of active and peaceful co-existence in the common desire to attain the ideals of peace and the improvement of living conditions.

Since these Five Principles were proclaimed a number of countries have adhered to, or expressed their agreement with, them. The countries represented at the Bandung Conference unanimously adopted a Declaration confirming these Principles, which have now won general recognition as a solid basis for co-operation between countries.

During the present visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchev to India a free and frank exchange of opinion on problems of the international situation took place between them and Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. This exchange of opinion bore out their firm conviction that international relations must be based on the Five Principles and that everything must be done to ease international tension and promote the consolidation of peace and international co-operation.

The Four Heads of Government Conference in Geneva in July 1955 resulted in the recognition by the Great Powers represented there of the senselessness of war, which owing to the development of atomic and hydrogen weapons can bring only calamities to mankind. This fundamental admission that war must be ruled out as a method of settling international disputes was received with deep satisfaction by the peoples of the world and resulted in a substantial relaxation of international tension. Although basic problems of Europe and Asia still remain unsolved, the natural consequence of excluding war as a method of settling outstanding questions was a change in the approach to them and the striving to solve them through negotiations. Diplomatic relations were established between the Soviet Union and the German Federal Republic. Negotiations were started and are still continuing on an ambassadorial level between the United States of America and the Chinese People's Republic. The conference on the uses of atomic energy for peaceful purposes successfully concluded its work this August, and the U.N. General Assembly passed a resolution on the setting up of an International Atomic Energy Agency.

In order to continue the settlement of outstanding questions through negotiations, the Four Heads of Government Conference held in Geneva last July pointed to the necessity of convening a Conference of Foreign Ministers of the respective countries. This conference was recently held in Geneva. It did not reach any agreement on the problems discussed, therefore the great hopes which had appeared as a result of the Four Heads of Government Conference have so far not materialized. The conference, however, contributed to a clearer understanding of the problems facing the world, and it is an indisputable fact that all these problems can be solved only by peaceful methods and

through peaceful negotiations if war is to be excluded as it should be according to the general opinion. Therefore, disappointment over the results of the Geneva Foreign Ministers' Conference can be only temporary and it is necessary to continue to exert every effort to ease international tension, considering negotiations to be the sole method of settling outstanding issues. The statesmen of both countries express their hope that the negotiations on an ambassadorial level between the United States of America and the Chinese People's Republic will lead not only to the solution of the questions under discussion, but also to greater mutual understanding through conferences at a higher level. They are convinced that durable peace in Asia is unthinkable without according the Chinese People's Republic its legitimate place in the United Nations. They express deep regret at the delay in recognizing this indisputable fact. They sincerely hope that other Far Eastern and Asian problems will be speedily solved through agreement, namely: the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic to the offshore islands and Taiwan must be satisfied and the Korean question solved on the basis of recognition of the national rights of the Korean people and in conformity with the interests of peace in the Far East.

The statesmen of the U.S.S.R. and the Prime Minister of India expressed satisfaction with the Geneva Conference on Indo-China held last year. That conference put an end to the destructive war in Indo-China and outlined the procedure for settling the problems of the Indo-China states.

They note with regret that obstacles are being raised to the implementation of the Geneva agreements for Vietnam and that there are also difficulties in implementing the Geneva agreements on Laos. Violation of these agreements will have exceedingly grave consequences both for

Indo-China and the whole world. Therefore, the statesmen of both countries wish to appeal to all the signatories of, and the parties concerned in, the agreements to eliminate the obstacles now standing in the way of an effective implementation of the Geneva agreements and to co-operate fully in the execution of these agreements both in letter and spirit.

It is their firm conviction that the principle of universality must be applied in respect of United Nations membership. Until this principle is observed the United Nations will not be representative of all the countries of the world. Therefore they welcome the recommendation of the United Nations General Assembly on the simultaneous admission of 18 countries to the United Nations and sincerely hope that this recommendation will soon be adopted by the Security Council and carried into effect.

There is no other way of establishing peace throughout the world and eliminating the conditions leading to another devastating world war than disarmament. The increase or even the maintenance of the existing level of armaments is a constant threat of war, a source of fear and the cause of the race in the production of latest types of weapons of mass destruction. A pressing need of disarmament rises in direct proportion to the invention and accumulation of weapons of ever-growing destructive potential. The widespread desire to see war eliminated demands positive, constructive and swift steps towards disarmament. Agreement has already been achieved to a great extent on this question, and obviously there is no reason why the remaining obstacles should not be quickly overcome if the establishment of lasting peace is the set goal. In particular, the statesmen of both countries wish once again to express their firm conviction that the manufacture, use and testing of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons must be unconditionally prohibited. Besides this, there must be a substantial

reduction of conventional armaments and an effective international control to ensure the strict implementation of such prohibition and disarmament. Until this is achieved the whole world will be darkened and depressed by the fear of war and the peoples will doubt the sincerity of the desire for peace.

The statesmen of the U.S.S.R. and the Prime Minister of India have agreed that the forming of military alliances or regional military blocs is not a means of safeguarding peace and security. Such alliances have extended the bounds of the "cold war" and have introduced the element of instability in the areas in question, have increased fear and tension and raised additional obstacles to the peaceful development of the countries concerned. Peace and genuine security of the peoples can be assured only by the collective efforts of states.

One of the most effective means of reducing fear and international tension is to eliminate barriers to mutual co-operation and understanding. For this purpose cultural and economic relations between countries should be encouraged. The statesmen of both countries noted with satisfaction the ever-increasing opportunities for the peoples of both countries to get to know each other better through the regular exchange of visits by scientists, technical experts, economists, members of parliament, writers and other cultural workers of both countries. They hope that there will be a steady extension of such opportunities for mutual contacts on a basis facilitating understanding of, and respect for, the different ways of life in the two countries.

The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, the Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the Prime Minister of India, therefore, welcome the development of co-operation between the two countries

in building the Bhilai Iron and Steel Works in India and in carrying out other projects on which negotiations are already being conducted. India's second five-year plan, which devotes main attention to the development of heavy industry, can offer further possibilities for such co-operation. They consider it desirable that upon completion of the necessary preliminary work competent representatives of both countries meet to examine mutually advantageous forms of economic and technical co-operation and to reach agreement on concrete matters in cases when this is deemed necessary.

The visit of N. A. Bulganin and N. S. Khrushchov to India is an exceedingly important event not only because it has brought the two countries closer together, but also because it promotes the cause of universal peace. The Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. A. Bulganin, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, N. S. Khrushchov, and the Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, again proclaim their faith in the future and their firm resolve to devote their efforts to the consolidation of peace for the good of the peoples of their countries and of the whole world.

N. A. BULGANIN,
Chairman of the U.S.S.R.
Council of Ministers

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU,
Prime Minister of India

New Delhi, December 13, 1955

JOINT SOVIET-INDIAN COMMUNIQUE ON ECONOMIC RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND THE U.S.S.R.

The Joint Declaration of N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, and Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, notes the desire of both countries to develop economic co-operation and to extend trade relations. In connection with this, representatives of the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of India held preliminary negotiations and arrived at the understanding that it would be to the mutual advantage of both countries to increase the volume of trade to the maximum. As a first step in this direction the following agreement has also been reached:

1. A) The U.S.S.R. will deliver and India will buy over a period of three years beginning with 1956 one million tons of rolled ferrous metals, including 300,000 tons in the first year and 350,000 tons annually during the two following years. The time-limits and terms of these deliveries are to be agreed upon during subsequent negotiations.

B) Over a period of three years the U.S.S.R. will sell and India will buy such equipment for oil extraction, for the mining industry and other equipment, and also such other goods as may be agreed upon by the parties. The delivery dates and the terms of sale and purchase of these goods

and equipment will be agreed upon during subsequent negotiations.

C) The U.S.S.R. will considerably increase its purchases both of raw materials and manufactured goods in India on terms and at dates which will be agreed upon by negotiation between the buyers and sellers. The hope is expressed that the total value of such purchases, including the sums which may be required for the maintenance of Soviet official organizations in India, will be equal to the total value of the goods purchased by India in the U.S.S.R.

D) As provided for in the Soviet-Indian trade agreement, both Governments will afford maximum facilities as regards the imports and exports of the aforesaid goods, permitted by their respective laws, rules and regulations, and will co-operate in every possible way towards that end.

2. Taking into account the planned increase in the volume of trade and with a view to ensuring the proper conditions for shipment of these goods, both Governments consider it necessary to establish regular shipping lines between the ports of the U.S.S.R. and India, using Soviet and Indian vessels.

3. The representatives of both Governments have also agreed to send delegations from the U.S.S.R. to India or from India to the U.S.S.R. within the shortest possible delay to discuss terms and to conclude agreements for the implementation of the arrangements set above.

New Delhi, December 13, 1955

**RESOLUTION
OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET
ON THE RESULTS OF THE VISIT OF N. A. BULGANIN,
CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S.S.R. COUNCIL OF MINISTERS,
AND N. S. KHRUSHCHOV, MEMBER OF THE PRE-
SIDIUM OF THE U.S.S.R. SUPREME SOVIET,
TO INDIA, BURMA AND AFGHANISTAN**

Having heard and discussed the reports of Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, on their visit to the Republic of India, the Union of Burma and Afghanistan, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. expresses its full satisfaction with the results of the visit.

The Supreme Soviet notes that the friendly visit of the Soviet government leaders to these countries was a major political event and contributed to the promotion of peace in Asia and the Far East and to further relaxation of international tension.

The enthusiasm and cordiality with which the Soviet statesmen were greeted in India, Burma and Afghanistan is regarded by the Supreme Soviet as a manifestation of the deep respect and friendship cherished by the peoples of these countries for the peoples of the Soviet Union. The warm reception accorded to the representatives of the Soviet people shows that the efforts of our people for peace, and our country's achievements, are understood and appreciated by the peoples of India, Burma and Afghanistan.

The Supreme Soviet notes that the visit of Comrades

Bulganin and Khrushchov was another important step in strengthening the friendship and co-operation of the U.S.S.R. with the great country of India, with Burma and Afghanistan in working for peace, ending the "cold war" and securing further relaxation of international tension. The identity of the aims and aspirations of these countries in relation to the fundamental problem of international life—the preservation and consolidation of peace—has been reaffirmed. This identity of views of the U.S.S.R., India, Burma and Afghanistan is explained not by transitory causes, it is the result of their common fundamental interests as countries which desire international peace and security.

The talks revealed an identity of views on major aspects of the relations between these countries, also on such cardinal international problems as disarmament and unconditional prohibition of atomic and hydrogen weapons, satisfying the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic in relation to the coastal islands and to Taiwan, granting the Chinese People's Republic its rightful place in the United Nations and settling other outstanding Asian and Far Eastern problems in accordance with the legitimate rights of the nations.

Of great importance is their unanimous agreement that peace can be safeguarded only by collective efforts of the states.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India, Burma and Afghanistan are based on the principles of mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence irrespective of their social systems.

The Supreme Soviet notes with satisfaction that these principles are gaining ever wider international recognition. They have been made the basis of the relations of the Chinese

People's Republic with other countries, and they are supported by the countries which took part in the Bandung Conference and by a number of other countries in Europe and Asia. Adoption of these principles as the basis of the relations between all countries would be of enormous importance for establishing the necessary confidence among nations and removing the threat of a new war.

Another important result of the visit of Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchov to these Asian countries is the agreements reached with them for expanding trade, economic, cultural and other relations, based on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, and without imposing any obligations of a political or military nature.

The Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. is confident that the contacts and co-operation between the Soviet Union, India, Burma and Afghanistan in various spheres of state, economic, social and cultural activity will effectively develop, and that measures will be taken to facilitate wider acquaintance of their peoples with each other's life, achievements and culture, and broader interchange of experience.

Identity of the interests of the U.S.S.R., the Republic of India, the Union of Burma, Afghanistan and of all other peace-loving states in the matter of ensuring peace and national independence of the peoples creates the necessary conditions for the development of firm and enduring friendship between these countries, and for growth of co-operation between them, for the benefit of their peoples and in the interests of universal peace.

The visit of Comrades Bulganin and Khrushchov to India, Burma and Afghanistan evoked the whole-hearted approval of the peoples of many countries, especially colonial and dependent countries, and was hailed by all who are sincerely interested in eliminating the danger of war and in firm and enduring peace.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics considers that the visit of Comrades N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, and N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, has demonstrated the great importance of personal contact between statesmen for furthering mutual understanding, establishing confidence between states, and developing international co-operation. This visit will have the effect of weakening the forces of war and of strengthening peace throughout the world.

The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics *resolves*:

To approve the activity of Comrade N. A. Bulganin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., and Comrade N. S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., during their visit to the Republic of India, the Union of Burma and Afghanistan, as being in full accord with the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union and as contributing to international peace, friendship and co-operation.

The Kremlin, Moscow
December 29, 1955



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GENERAL CATALOGUE

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QUESTIONS OF TACTICS IN THE PRESENT ANTI-JAPANESE UNITED FRONT ON POLICY

by Mao Tse-tung

This booklet consists of two important works by Mao Tse-tung written during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression to guide the Communist Party of China in the struggle against the Kuomintang's reactionary policy.

"Questions of Tactics in the Present Anti-Japanese United Front" is the outline of a report Mao Tse-tung made in Yen-an in March 1940 to a meeting of senior cadres of the Chinese Communist Party. After a sharp analysis of the political situation at the time, he pointed to the broadening and consolidation of the anti-Japanese united front as the basic condition for victory in the Anti-Japanese War. To attain this end, the tactics to be adopted were: developing the progressive forces, winning over the middle-of-the-road forces and opposing the forces of the die-hards. In the united front, the policy to be insisted upon was: unity and struggle, and unity through struggle. In the struggle against the die-hard forces of the Kuomintang, "justifiability, expediency and restraint" must be the guiding principle. With emphasis laid on the importance of winning over the middle-of-the-road forces in the struggle of developing the forces of progress while opposing the die-hards, an objective, concrete and scientific analysis is made of the various middle-of-the-road forces and the policies and conditions under which the Party could achieve such a goal are pointed out.

"On Policy" was written by Mao Tse-tung on behalf of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in December 1940 as a directive to Party members. The erroneous policies of the Right opportunists in the Party in the latter part of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27), as well as the "Left" opportunism in the Party in the latter part of the Second Revolutionary Civil War (1927-36), are subjected to penetrating criticism. The policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front is shown to consist neither of mere unity without any struggle nor of struggle only without any unity, but as a policy which integrates unity with struggle. In discussing the tactical principles of the Party, Mao Tse-tung made a scientific analysis of the various political forces existing at that time and pointed out that it was necessary to be able to distinguish between the different types of people and to formulate Party policies on the basis of the existing differences in class relations. He went on to criticize the viewpoints of "left" and right deviations then existing in the Party. Finally, the various concrete policies of the Party, drawn up according to these tactical principles, are explained briefly and precisely.

38 pages Size: 5 1/8" x 7 7/8"

THE CHINESE REVOLUTION AND THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

by Mao Tse-tung

In this work Mao Tse-tung deals briefly with the fundamental problems of the Chinese revolution: its targets and tasks, its character and perspectives and the form of the revolutionary struggle. It is a classical example of how Mao Tse-tung has applied Marxism-Leninism to solve the problems of the Chinese revolution.

56 pages Size: 5 1/4" x 7 3/8"

ON NEW DEMOCRACY

by Mao Tse-tung

Written in 1940, Mao Tse-tung's *On New Democracy* is a work of immense historical importance. In the light of the fundamental changes in the historical conditions both within and outside China, and of the fresh experiences of the Chinese revolution accumulated in the preceding 20 years, the author develops, in this pamphlet, Lenin and Stalin's theories regarding revolutions in the colonies and semi-colonies; draws a line between the two different historical periods of the Chinese revolution, namely, the periods of old democracy and New Democracy, and its two different historical categories; solves the theoretical problems of reconstruction of the New-Democratic China and touches upon the development of the New Democratic revolution into a socialist revolution; and smashes the illusion regarding the establishment of a bourgeois dictatorship in China. This is an integral Marxist work on the Chinese revolution. It has played an extremely important role in mobilizing and organizing the Chinese people for their struggle to liberate themselves and to build a new China, and has thus greatly speeded up the Chinese revolution.

84 pages Size: 5 1/4" x 7 3/8"

ON THE BATTLEFRONTS OF THE LIBERATED AREAS (Revised Edition)

by Chu Teh

This is the famous military report made by Vice-Chairman Chu Teh to the 7th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1945.

This report supplemented Chairman Mao Tse-tung's political report to the Congress entitled *On Coalition Government* and is a brilliant analysis of the military line of policy, strategy and tactics which were pursued during the eight years of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression.

Chu Teh contrasts the revolutionary line of an all-out people's war which aimed at uniting all anti-Japanese armed forces, of cementing the close unity be-

tween officers and men and between the army and the people, with the anti-popular, defeatist and defensive military line pursued from the beginning of the war by Chiang Kai-shek.

He describes the principles by which the Chinese Communists succeeded in attracting millions of peasants to take up arms and to render whole-hearted support, and in overcoming all problems of maintenance, equipment and training of the vast armies which finally defeated the Japanese invaders. Under each heading these principles are contrasted with the reactionary measures by which Chiang Kai-shek failed ignominiously to solve the same problems in the Kuomintang armies.

91 pages Size: 5 1/4" x 7 3/8"

REPORT ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

by Liu Shao-chi

A report on the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China was made by Liu Shao-chi, on behalf of the Committee for Drafting the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, at the first session of the First National People's Congress.

In this report, thorough and detailed explanations, applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the complicated realities of China in the transition period, are given on many important issues concerning the Draft Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

The report is divided into four parts. The first part shows that the Draft Constitution was drawn up on the basis of facts, as the epitome of the historical experience acquired by the Chinese people in a hundred years of heroic struggles, and also as the epitome of historical experience with constitutions and the constitutional movement in modern China. At the same time, the Draft Constitution is also shown to be the epitome of the new historical experience gained since the founding of the People's Republic of China.

The second part of the report is devoted to a penetrating theoretical analysis of the basic content of the Draft Constitution, that is, the character of our state; the steps to be taken in the transition to a socialist society; our political system of people's democracy and the people's rights and duties; and the question of national regional autonomy.

The third part provides clear-cut answers and explanations to the important suggestions made during the nation-wide discussion of the Draft Constitution, why certain ones were accepted while others were rejected. In the fourth part Liu Shao-chi gives a conclusion, pointing out that, since this Constitution embodies the personal experience and long-cherished hopes of the people, it will as a matter of course be able to play a tremendous, dynamic role in the life of our state, to inspire the masses of people in their struggle for sound and stable progress in our work of construction, for the acceleration in the tempo of building up our country.

Included in the book is the full text of the Constitution of the People's Republic of China.

110 pages Size: 5 1/4" x 7 3/8"

REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

by Chou En-lai

The Report on the Work of the Government, delivered by Premier Chou En-lai on September 23, 1954, before the first session of the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, summarizes the achievements made since the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949. It clearly sets forth China's domestic and foreign policies. The facts and figures mentioned will give the reader a good idea of the tremendous successes scored over these five years in industry and agriculture, in communications and transport, in finance and economy, and in all other fields. The Report deals also with shortcomings in the work of the government, shortcomings that must be eliminated. By showing how greatly the life of the people has improved, the new heights that culture and education have attained as a result of the progress in economic construction, the Report unfolds before the reader a vista of the fundamental changes that are taking place in the new China.

The latter part of the Report deals with China's foreign policy and the successes attained in this field. It relates how in the common struggle against wars of aggression and in defence of world peace the unity between China and the Soviet Union as well as the People's Democracies has over the past five years been greatly strengthened. For the cause of world peace and international co-operation, the Chinese Government and people have made great effort and achieved remarkable success through the establishment of diplomatic relations and in promoting economic and cultural exchanges with many other countries.

Those who want to study and understand clearly what are the conditions and policies of the new China, will find this Report an invaluable and indispensable guide.

84 pages Size: 5 1/4" x 7 3/8"

NOTES ON MAO TSE-TUNG'S "REPORT OF AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN HUNAN"

by Chen Po-ta

This pamphlet gives a detailed analysis of the "Report of an Investigation into the Peasant Movement in Hunan," the most important historic document of the Communist Party of China in the period of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-27). Author Chen Po-ta makes it clear that, although reporting on the peasant problem, Mao Tse-tung actually summarized the Bolshevik strategy and tactics of the Communist Party of China during the 1924-27 revolution. Chen Po-ta also describes the work as a brilliant exposé of the open ideological breach at that time between the Party's Bolshevik members and its Menshevik elements headed by Chen Tu-hsiu. History has proved the truth of Bolshevism, represented in China by Mao Tse-tung, as irrefutable. It is this truth that has guided the Communist Party of China and continues to illumine the path towards further advances for the entire people.

62 pages Size: 5 1/4" x 7 3/8"

IMPERIALISM AND CHINESE POLITICS

by Hu Sheng

Imperialism and Chinese Politics deals with the political relations between the imperialist powers and semi-colonial China—one of the basic questions in China's modern political history and history of revolution. This book gives a profound analysis of the manner in which the imperialists sought and fostered their political tools in China, of the different attitudes of the Chinese reactionary rulers and of the Chinese people towards them, and of the damage the illusions cherished by all the political reformists of modern China for imperialism had caused the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, during the 85-year period from the Opium War (1840-1842) to the eve of the First Revolutionary Civil War (1924-1927). Thus, this book explains the political relations between the imperialist powers, particularly the United States, and semi-colonial China.

This book not only describes the acts of aggression committed by the imperialists against China, but also analyses the Chinese people's struggle against imperialist aggression and for national independence, democracy and freedom. It gives a correct account of the great revolutionary tasks accomplished by the masses in different historical stages and criticizes the incorrect viewpoints of certain bourgeois historians.

308 pages Size: 5 1/2" x 8 1/2"

CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

The Constitution of the People's Republic of China was adopted on September 20, 1954, by the First National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China at its first session.

This Constitution has great historic significance for it consolidates in legal form not only the fruits of the victory which the Chinese people won in their heroic struggles during more than a century, but also the achievements gained in every sphere since the new China was founded. The Constitution defines China's fundamental tasks for the period of transition and points out that China can in a peaceful way build a prosperous and happy socialist society.

Provisions in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China concerning the structure of the state and the fundamental rights and duties of citizens are clear-cut. A study of this document will help the reader understand the characteristics of China's state structure, the political, economic and cultural life of the Chinese people, and, on this basis, the perspective of China's advance.

64 pages Size: 5 3/8" x 8 1/2"

THE OUTSTANDING SUCCESS OF THE AGRARIAN REFORM MOVEMENT IN CHINA

Agrarian reform has now been carried out in China. This movement has emancipated four hundred million peasants from the feudal exploitation by the landlord class and enabled them to become masters of the land. This is a great change

of historic significance. What was the situation when China launched the movement to give the land back to tillers? What were the changes in China's countryside after the agrarian reform? In what way will China's countryside develop? This pamphlet is an attempt to answer these questions.

20 pages Size: 5½"×7½"

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING IN CHINA

"Decisions on the Development of Agricultural Producers' Cooperatives Adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China," now published under the title *Co-operative Farming in China*, is one of the important documents issued by the Chinese Communist Party to guide the peasants in the movement for mutual aid and co-operation in agricultural production. The document, together with the "Decisions on Mutual Aid and Co-operation in Agricultural Production" adopted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on February 15, 1953 (see *Mutual Aid and Co-operation in China's Agricultural Production*), defines in clear terms the correct policy and concrete measures for the socialist transformation of China's agriculture. The Chinese peasants are shown the only correct road towards a happy life—the road of agricultural co-operation.

This pamphlet will help the reader understand the people's China's rural policy at present and how the Chinese peasants are being led onto the road of socialism after completion of the land reform. It is indispensable as reference material for the study of China's rural problems.

34 pages Size: 5½"×7½"

FROM YENAN TO PEKING

by Liao Kai-lung

From Yen-an to Peking gives a concise account of the most important and momentous events in contemporary Chinese history: the war of liberation, the birth of the Chinese People's Republic, and the achievements of New China since liberation. It is an epic of the Chinese people's heroic struggle, starting in the liberated areas, when the people's power had its headquarters in the caves of remote Yen-an. It tells how the People's Liberation Army, after defeating the Japanese invaders, won victory after victory over the Kuomintang regime despite the support the latter received from the United States till Peking once more became the proud capital of People's China; how the young republic came to the aid of her neighbour, Korea, assailed by native traitors and foreign imperialists; how amazing changes were brought about in her political, economic and social fabric, until in 1953 she embarked on the first of the Five Year Plans which will make China a great and happy socialist state.

187 pages Size: 5½"×7½"

• 6 •

Literary Works

REGISTRATION AND OTHER STORIES

This book contains ten popular short stories by Chao Shu-li and other writers. Except for "My Two Hosts" by Kang Chuo all are stories published after the founding of the new China.

These short stories are strongly imbued with vitality. Though different in theme and presenting different characters, they all reflect the new life of China. Concretely and vividly they describe the fervour with which the workers, peasants and soldiers, the women, and the national minorities of China love their present happy life. These stories will enable the reader to realize the great changes the revolution has wrought in the life of the Chinese people.

226 pages Size: 5½"×8½"

THE CHUS REACH HAVEN

by Pai Wei

Until liberation came, famine occurred frequently in the Yellow River region in Honan Province. It was an aftermath of the ten-year flooding of the Yellow River during the rule of the reactionary Kuomintang.

The Chus Reach Haven describes how a peasant family, who fled from their village when it was flooded, returned after the liberation and succeeded in tiding over the normal spring shortages by taking part in one of the irrigation projects launched by the People's Government.

The author shows how the newly liberated peasants, under the leadership of the People's Government, waged a successful battle against serious difficulties by means of mutual aid and co-operation; and how in the course of their work they began to understand the correct policy of the People's Government. This short novel describes the struggles of the new and progressive against the old and backward, and the characters in the story are vividly depicted.

108 pages Size: 4½"×6½"

THE PEOPLE HAVE STRENGTH

by Rewi Alley

The Western world needs to know more about China. Since liberation, many books have been written about her people and their struggle for better life. Many more will be written, indeed must be written, for what these six hundred million human beings do is of immense importance to the whole of mankind.

Everywhere people will ask themselves, "What are the sources of this amazing strength? How can so great a change be possible amongst so many people in so short a time?"

• 7 •

This book tries to give an answer in simple human terms which the busy man in the street, in the factory and on the farm will be able to digest. It is a sequel to the book *Yo Banfa* (We Have A Way) by the same author, which was published in 1952.

281 pages Size: 6"×8½"

LIVING AMONGST HEROES

by Pa Chin

Written with a graphic and ardent pen, the ten brilliant articles presented in this book reflect the author's experiences on the Korean front. Vividly depicting the heroic exploits of the Chinese People's Volunteers and the profound friendship existing between the Chinese and Korean peoples, they also lay bare the cowardice and brutality of the U.S. aggressors. A number of coloured woodcuts illustrate the stories.

132 pages Size: 4½"×6¾"

FLAMES AHEAD

by Liu Pai-yu

This is a short novel about the great campaign in which a division of the Chinese People's Liberation Army forced a crossing over the Yangtse River in the summer of 1949. The writer, who personally took part in this campaign, is able through his experience to depict how the people's fighters scored brilliant victory after they had overcome the often incredible difficulties and had with unrivalled bravery broken through what the enemy had believed to be an insurmountable defence line, along the natural barrier of the Yangtse.

166 pages Size: 4½"×6¾"

STORIES ABOUT YOUNG PIONEERS

by Chang Tien-yi

This book contains three short stories and a play by Chang Tien-yi. Vividly and realistically describing the fine qualities of the children of New China, they relate how China's Young Pioneers educate these children and help them overcome their shortcomings—of not studying hard enough, of striving for personal glory, of behaving well in school but at the same time disliking work at home—to become good little citizens of New China.

Chang Tien-yi is one of the outstanding writers of the new China and has written many books for children.

49 pages Size: 6½"×7½"

THE DRAGON KING'S DAUGHTER—TEN TANG DYNASTY STORIES

The short stories known as *chuan chi* are a special form of literature which developed during the Tang Dynasty (618-907 A.D.). Like the well-known Tang poetry these stories with their elegant language and detailed descriptions give a vivid picture of the economic and cultural life of the Tang Dynasty.

This volume contains "Story of a Singsong Girl", "The Man With the Curly Beard" and eight other of the best known stories of the period. Some are beautiful love stories while others deal with fairies and monsters. The book is illustrated with five pictures chosen from early editions of Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) plays dealing with the same themes.

109 pages Size: 5½"×8¼"

WALL OF BRONZE

by Liu Ching

With the Shachiatien battle of August 1947—turning point in the battle for Northwest China—as its main theme, this novel describes the support the peasants of northern Shensi Province gave to the front in the Chinese People's War of Liberation. Through grain deliveries the peasants of the old revolutionary base did their part in the war: members of the Communist Party, village cadres and the people in the rural areas shirked no difficulties in helping the People's Liberation Army defeat Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary troops. The novel shows that victory in the war for China's liberation was the result of struggle waged in common under correct leadership by the people and the People's Liberation Army.

283 pages Size: 7½"×8½"

WANG KUEI AND LI HSIANG-HSIANG

by Li Chi

This is a long ballad about the love of two poor peasants during the Second Revolutionary Civil War in Northern Shensi. In the simple but lively form of Northern Shensi folk songs, this poem describes the crimes of the reactionary landlords and militarists, and the victory of the revolutionary workers and peasants.

34 pages Size: 6½"×10½"

THE HURRICANE

by Chou Li-po

The Hurricane (awarded a Stalin Prize in 1951) by Chou Li-po is the dramatic story of what happens in a village in Northeast China during and after the land reform. There are three or four hundred families in Yuanmao Village, yet most of the land is in the hands of three landlords, one of whom—Han Number Six—is particularly dreaded for his cruelty.

In 1946, after Yuanmao has been liberated, a work team arrives to help the peasants carry out land reform. We see how slow the villagers are to put their trust in the government workers and to unite against the landlords, yet how, once aroused, they sweep down on their enemies with all the force of a hurricane! Even after they receive land, however, their troubles are not over; for the power in the peasants' association passes into the hands of crooks who are in league with the landlords, and a further struggle is required to achieve real democracy in the village.

This is a richly human book, written by a man who understands the peasants and shares their humour. The chapters describing the landlords' attempts to corrupt the peasants and win over a weak-kneed villager are riotously funny. More significant are those describing the character and experiences of ordinary folk like the old carter Sun or the little swineherd Wu. Here is Pai, too, a loafer when we first meet him, whose pretty wife is always nagging at her shiftless husband: we see how their relationship is strained by the tremendous upheaval that land reform causes in their lives, but how they win through to mutual respect and happiness. We meet the poor peasants Chao and Kuo with their unassuming courage and selflessness. And through these and many other unforgettable characters we are able to understand something of the life won by hundreds of millions of peasants in China today.

408 pages Size: 5½"×8½"

LIVING HELL

by Chen Teng-ke

The novel *Living Hell* tells of one of the old revolutionary bases in Central China where the people's armed forces and the civilian population fought off, shoulder to shoulder, the civil war unleashed by the Kuomintang in 1946 with U.S. support. In the story an heroic mother unhesitatingly substitutes her dying daughter for a wounded fighter of the People's Liberation Army; the squad leader, when recovered, leads the people of the village where he is in hiding, in relentless struggle against the Kuomintang garrison.

Author Chen Teng-ke learned to read and write only after he joined the ranks of the revolution. He became a newspaper correspondent and, as such, gained experience and inspiration during the People's War of Liberation which enabled him to write this forceful novel about the close ties existing between the people and their army.

190 pages Size: 5½"×7"

STEELED IN BATTLES

by Hu Ko

Through the fortunes of a poor peasant family, persecuted by three forces, feudalism, in the person of a brutal landlord, the Japanese imperialist invaders and the United States-armed Kuomintang, we see reflected the Chinese people's heroic and victorious fight. . . . The action takes place over some thirteen years, and three generations are affected. The landlord takes their land, and brings death to the old man. The family is broken up. Years later, the son, now a battalion commander in the 8th Route Army meets his boy again, unknowingly. The unit liberates the village where the wife lives, and the landlord is delivered up to the People's Court. It is on the eve of final victory, and the family has to part again, until all China is liberated.

The story is a living illustration of how the Chinese people in recent decades were steeled through the very fight they waged, and as a people grew into their victorious present.

The author, himself still in the People's Liberation Army, contributes a preface of the historical background to his play. The play has met with a great welcome in China, and has been translated and produced in the Soviet Union.

75 pages Size: 5½"×7"

Picture-Story Books

THE MAN WHO LIVES FOREVER

Adapted by Chih Ying

Drawings by Chiang Ying

This illustrated serial tells the true story of a fighter of the Chinese People's Volunteers who laid down his life while rescuing a Korean boy from drowning in an ice hole. It is a story of the selfless heroism so typical of the Volunteers and testifies to the highly developed feeling of internationalism and friendship uniting the Chinese and Korean peoples.

71 pages Size: 7½"×5½"

SCHOOLMASTER TUNGKUO

Schoolmaster Tungkuo was a good-natured, unobtrusive old man. He was opposed to war and the killing of any living thing. All wars were bad, he said. He made no distinction between those who fought to defend themselves from aggression and oppression and those who fought to impose their domination over others. His misguided kindness towards all living things was such that he even believed that some wolves could be so "good" as to be harmless to men.

Once, believing himself to be truly merciful, he saved the life of a wolf who was being hunted. But, as soon as the danger was over, the wolf threatened to eat Master Tungkuo himself. Only when he was rescued by an old peasant did he understand that he was mistaken in his principle of all-embracing love, without distinguishing good from bad, and that pacifism without distinction of right and wrong was a fallacy.

Schoolmaster Tungkuo, a serial picture book, is a modern version of the *Chungshan Wolf* written by Ma Chung-hsi of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

82 pages Size: 7½"×5½"

KAO'S BOYHOOD

This serial picture book depicts the participation of Kao Yu-pao, now a soldier-writer in the Chinese People's Liberation Army, in the underground anti-Japanese struggle at the kiln works where he was employed in his childhood during the Japanese occupation.

The book shows with realistic accuracy the determination, wit, courage and revolutionary fervour of the Chinese working class led by the Communist Party in fighting Japanese oppression and exploitation.

95 pages Size: 7½"×5½"

SHEPHERD'S MESSAGE

This illustrated serial tells the story of the leader of a village children's corps during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression (1937-1945). With unflinching loyalty to the cause of the revolution, the resourceful, courageous hero, despite all the difficulties and dangers, successfully delivered an urgent military message to a unit of the anti-Japanese guerilla forces.

The exciting story, combined with lifelike drawings, produces a fine picture-story book that has enjoyed wide popularity among Chinese readers.

149 pages Size: 7½"×5½"

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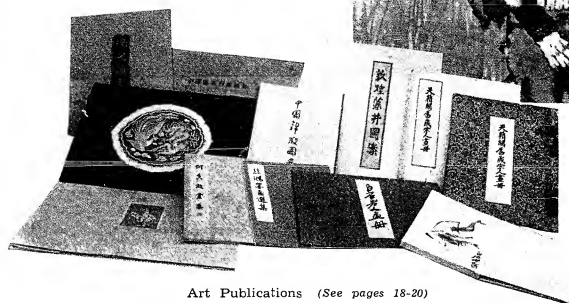
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Painting in Chinese
ink by Hsu Pei-hung
(See page 20, item 4)



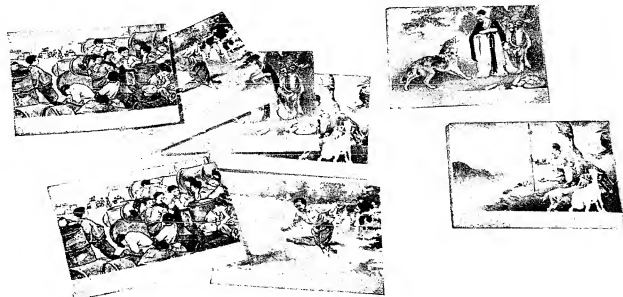
Art Publications (See pages 18-20)



Water colour painting
by Chi Pai-shih
(See page 20, item 9)



Periodicals (See page 21)



Picture-Story Books (See pages 11, 12)

GUOZI SHUDIAN
Importers and Exporters of Books and Periodicals
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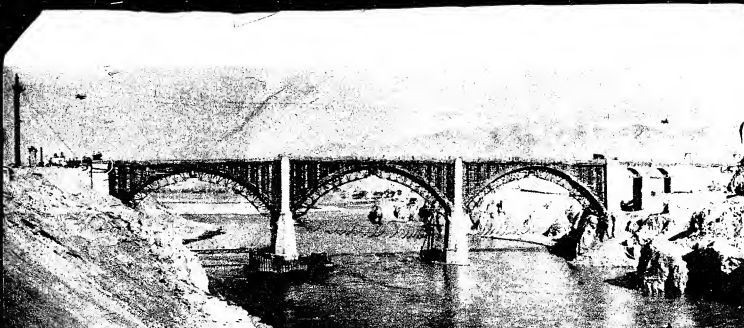
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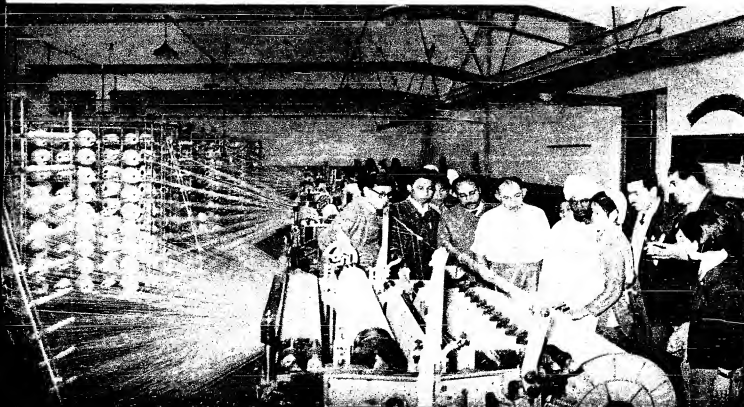
JUNE
1956





A New Bridge over the Yellow River This reinforced concrete bridge over the Yellow River, which will carry the important Paochow-Lanchow Railway now being built, was completed on April 17. It has three arches, each with a span of 174 feet, and an over-all length of over 550 feet.

Foreign Delegations in China Over a thousand guests from all parts of the world have recently been touring China. These delegates from Egypt, the Sudan, Jordan, South Africa, Australia and Iceland are inspecting the Peking No. 2 Cotton Mill.



PEOPLE'S CHINA

No. 12, 1956

June 16

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From the Editor's Desk

Chinese intellectuals, especially in modern times, have always dreamt of making their country independent, strong and prosperous. But their quest for a means of national salvation proved long and tortuous: they found the way only by trial and error. First there were those who naively believed that all that was needed was to assimilate Western culture. Others thought reforms would save China. When they all failed came the revolutionaries who fought to end feudal rule and set up a bourgeois republic, but their dreams, too, turned to ashes. Only when the October Socialist Revolution brought the Chinese people Marxism-Leninism did Chinese intellectuals begin to see a future for their country and found a key to make their dream come true. Readers interested in Chinese intellectuals and their role in the Chinese people's revolution will certainly find Professor Shih Chun's article stimulating.

The lands where the national minorities in China live are potentially rich, but in the bad old days when reactionaries considered

the minorities fair game for oppression and exploitation, the people of those parts lived in abject misery. All that is over now. Thanks to the People's Government's programme of economic development they are living better day by day. No small factor in this change is the systematic industrialization of these regions as part of the national plan. "Industry Comes to the National Minorities" is a brief progress report.

Because of the interest evoked by Chou Yang's "Chinese Literature Since 1953" in No. 8 (which was an abridgement of a report he made to the council meeting of the Union of Chinese Writers last March), we thought you would like the article in this issue by Liu Pai-yu, the novelist, which tells of the union's plans to encourage writers to write more and better books. It discusses detailed plans for literary research and criticism, help for young writers and those of national minorities, exchanges and contacts with foreign friends, editing and publication.

More Contact! Closer Friendship!

For this year's May Day, over a thousand guests from fifty different countries came to China and toured our country, meeting people in all walks of life. This has helped to promote mutual understanding and enhanced our friendship, and underlined the need for much more contact of this kind in the days to come.

Here are the opinions of some of our Asian and African guests on this matter.

Professor P. V. Bapat

Leader of the Delegation from the India-China Friendship Association

THERE is a good old saying in Sanskrit which means that "in the modern age there lies a tremendous power in unity." The different nations in Asia and Africa need to "come together, talk together and know the minds of one another." They may have common problems and can devise common means to strengthen their newly achieved freedom. Those who have still to win their freedom will need help and friendly guidance from others who have already gained independence. It is for this purpose that the wise men at the helm of affairs in the different countries of Asia and Africa decided to hold a conference at Bandung where they laid down certain lines of policy for the conduct of these countries and for maintaining peace in the world.

For this purpose too it is necessary to have contacts among peoples at different levels. There should be an exchange of ideas between statesmen, scholars, technical experts, social workers, industrial workers, farmers and workers in the

cultural field. It is a happy sign that we have begun to have such contacts between China and India. The exchange of delegations from the India-China Friendship Association and the China-India Friendship Association will necessarily pave the way for such an exchange on a permanent basis. There may follow exchanges for longer periods of students, scholars, literary workers, engineers, doctors, social workers, university professors and others.

India, for instance, would welcome from China experts in community projects who would be able to put their experience at the disposal of the workers in that field in India. China might also benefit from the experience of engineering experts in India. Students of medicine in China would also welcome the opportunity of studying the indigenous medical system of India. India would like to benefit by the experience of China in her work of organization of labour both in her factories and farms.

We have to approach the people's hearts, and for this purpose, it is necessary to get the younger generation to take an interest in the intellectual movements of other countries. This can be accomplished

People's China

by sending professors from one country to the universities of the other. In India, interest has already been created in studies in Chinese history, the Chinese language and Chinese literature and in Chinese Buddhism. China also would like to have professors from India who would help the Chinese people reach a better understanding of her ancient history, her sacred literature contained in Sanskrit and Pali Texts, her classical and modern literatures. It is a happy sign to note that the Peking University has made provision for the teaching of Hindi.

Mutual understanding would be able to bring China and India still closer together and thus promote the cause of maintaining peace in the world. When the peoples of India and China are determined to maintain peace and when these countries get the support of other countries in Asia and Africa that are beginning to be conscious of their rights and capabilities, what power on earth can dare disturb the peaceful atmosphere of the world?

U Nyar Na

Writer and Head of the Burmese Film Delegation

UNDER the rule of colonialism we people of Asia and Africa lost not only our own national independence but also the opportunity of friendly contacts between ourselves. Nevertheless, the struggle we each waged to overthrow that evil imperialist rule gave encouragement and inspiration to us all.

Today, some of us have won our independence, while the others are giving their lives, their all in the effort to expel colonialists. It is clear that countries like ours, with such interests in common, must do our best to co-operate with one another. Solidarity and co-operation will help consolidate the independence of all. Besides that, such solidarity is also a mainstay in the defence of world peace.

June 16, 1956

It is our common duty:

- (1) to shake off the yoke of colonialism;
- (2) to work for the happiness of the people; and
- (3) to carry on the struggle for world peace.

To realize these noble aims, we must strengthen and cement the friendly ties between us, support and encourage each other politically, economically and culturally, and enable our people to live in peace.

We Asian and African countries must not consider each other aliens; we must unite like members of one family. Then it is certain we shall reach our goal.

Mr. A. Azis

Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Journalists' Association and Head of the Indonesian Journalists' Delegation

I HAVE come to China at the invitation of the Chinese Journalists' Association. Besides visiting places, I have, in the spirit of the Bandung Conference, also come to prepare the ground for the establishment of ties between the journalists of Indonesia and China. I have been well received by the Chinese journalists and public. I also had the honour of being received by Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou En-lai.

My impressions are as follows: The Chinese people are kind, good-natured and industrious. The Chinese as a nation have restored their self-respect; they are imbued with confidence in themselves and filled with new hope. A new national spirit is everywhere in the ascendant. Their new way of life and the vast amount of construction now under way show the will of several hundred million people to turn their country into a great and prosperous state run on new, socialist principles. The conditions for the realization of the

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exist. For instance, there is the tremendous manpower, rich natural resources, and the good nature of the people. The leaders of the Chinese nation, who are able and faithful to the people, will help the people turn those ideals into a reality. The achievements China has made in carrying out her Five-Year Plan are proof of that.

I have too the feeling that the Chinese people ardently stand for peace, that they want to be friends with the people of the whole world, including the people of Indonesia. Our country has made a deep impression on the people of New China; this had been particularly so since the great Bandung Conference.

To Indonesia — and this applies to other Asian countries, too, and even to the whole world — New China is not merely something that exists, but is also a neighbour with good intentions and mighty strength. The establishment of healthy relations can therefore benefit all parties and help to foster friendliness on earth.

China, I believe, is sincerely working to convince the people of the whole world that she will go on working for the realization of these lofty ideals. That is my earnest hope.

Mr. Abu Saeed Enver

Executive Member, West Pakistan Confederation of Labour and Head of the Pakistan Delegation of Trade Unionists

WE have come here very recently but from my experience of last year I can say that China is making great strides along the path of progress and the workers are playing a great part in it.

One may not agree with the ideology of present-day China, and I belong to a school of thought which differs from the ideology held by China, but the fact remains that China has progressed immensely in its own way.

On the international front China is promoting the cause of world peace. Indeed it is a noble cause. Prosperity and progress cannot be achieved without peace at home and abroad.

World forces on both sides have seen enough of war which brought destruction and misery on themselves and on the smaller nations too. They are convinced that no problem can be solved through resort to destructive weapons.

As far as the relations between China and Pakistan are concerned they were always friendly, and during the last three years mutual exchange of delegations has further strengthened these relations. The proposed visit of our Prime Minister Muhammad Ali will prove another landmark.

I am not competent to speak on all spheres. But as a humble Pakistani I am of the firm opinion that we must have more and more contact with New China, and our present commitments to other countries should not stand in the way of our coming into closer contact with China.

A. D. Jayasekera

President of the Ceylon National Teachers' Union, Leader of the Ceylon Teachers' Delegation

CULTURAL relations between Ceylon and China date back a thousand years. Since 1952 trade relations, too, have developed between the two countries. China is the chief buyer of our rubber and we get rice in return. Since the establishment of our present government these relations are bound to develop rapidly. Already a Chinese Buddhist delegation is in Ceylon, for the first time in recent history, to participate in the Buddha Jayanti Festival. We are the first Ceylon delegation to come to China since the establishment of the new government. We are confident that many more delegations will

follow. Already our new prime minister has announced his deep desire to visit China in the near future.

The close friendship between free Ceylon and free China will materially benefit both countries and help preserve world peace. China fights for a lasting peace, and our new government has already banned the use of our air and naval bases for war purposes by the imperialists. We shall, from now on, stand together and hold aloft the banner of world peace.

Peoples of Asia and Africa are today struggling to unite for peace and progress. We, in Ceylon, will stand with them shoulder to shoulder. The day when the imperialists shall exercise no power in these two continents is not far off.

Long live world peace!

Dr. Izzeldin Ali Amer

Head of the Sudanese Cultural Goodwill Delegation

THE shape of things has changed much since the end of the Second World War. National movements for independence have started up everywhere, and colonialism has begun to lose ground in most of its old domains.

In our continent, the so-called "Dark Continent," national movements have also started — in Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Kenya and in our country, the Sudan. The aim of all these movements is nothing less than the winning and maintenance of national independence. It is natural that such countries appreciate the importance of such noble principles as peace, co-existence and mutual economic, cultural and technical co-operation — as important media for maintaining national independence.

On April 18, 1955, when the Bandung Conference of Asian and African peoples opened, such aspirations converged. It was indeed a milestone in the history and

lives of the millions of Asia and Africa. To meet by themselves, without the patronage of the colonial powers, has been something most inspiring to them, something which paved the way to an era of free co-operation and mutual support.

The Sudan, which officially declared itself an independent republic on the eve of this year, participated in this conference (though at that time it was not a fully independent state). Our foreign policy will be based primarily on application of the Bandung principles. The sending of our delegation is an example of the practical means which the Sudan will adopt to create and maintain strong ties between all African and Asian countries. It is our firm belief that both government and people of these countries should have a share in establishing such contact.

During our stay in China we have seen and studied a great deal of her achievements. There are so many things that have impressed us that we can mention only a few of them here.

The peaceful, steady yet rapid socialist transformation of the agrarian, industrial and psychological make-up of China has been most impressive and inspiring to our delegation.

We have also seen with much satisfaction the scientific and constitutional solution of the problem of minorities. As we have a similar problem on our hands as a heritage from British colonialism, we hope to benefit by our observations here and come to an amicable, permanent solution of our minority problems as well.

Another point that I should not leave unmentioned is the freedom enjoyed by our Moslem brethren in New China. We discovered this by seeing the Moslems in Sinkiang during Bairam, as well as in the course of personal contacts.

China is progressing fast, and before long I expect to hear that it has achieved the whole of its peoples' aims and aspirations.

The Path of the Chinese Intellectuals

Shih Chun

CHINESE intellectuals of the modern type appeared only after the Opium War (1840-1842). That war marked the beginning of China's gradual degeneration into a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. It was then that the Chinese people's century-old struggle against imperialism began. Throughout the subsequent century of bitter battles, Chinese intellectuals who wanted to save their country travelled a difficult and tortuous path.

In the feudal society of old China, only the ruling, landlord class had access to culture. It fostered its own intellectuals to serve it, the so-called "scholar gentry." The education such men received and their place in society made them loyal to the feudal rulers. But, as can be seen from history, there was also quite a number of them who often showed their discontent with the corrupt political system and their sympathy with the people in their misery. Some even turned against their own class and joined the revolutionary struggles of the people. They were at the same time the defenders and inheritors of traditional Chinese culture with its long and brilliant history.

Scholar Gentry

The scholar gentry had a strong sense of national pride. Their allegiance to the sovereign and their patriotic ideas often coincided with the true national interest when China was invaded from without. On

such occasions they were ready to defend the motherland together with the common people.

For this reason, not a few great thinkers, men of letters and young scholars in the history of old China made themselves great national heroes whose names will always be remembered. Such, in the eleventh century, was Chen Tung, a student at the imperial college, who, together with others, sent a memorial to the emperor advocating resistance to foreign invasions. Such, too, in the middle of the seventeenth century, were Huang Tsung-hsi, Ku Yen-wu and Wang Chuan-shan, who resisted the Manchu invasion, demonstrated a spirit of the utmost patriotism and proved themselves to be real heroes who preferred death to life without honour.* Such was Lin Tse-hsu (1785-1850) who, during the Opium War, organized the people and stood firm against British aggression. In doing this he offended the Imperial Court. It can be said that Lin was the last of the patriotic feudal intellectuals. His exemplary deeds, and those of others we have mentioned, had some influence on Chinese intellectuals of modern times, and helped to educate them.

The penetration of Western capitalism into China aroused Chinese intellectuals to

*Huang Tsung-hsi (1610-1695), Ku Yen-wu (1613-1682) and Wang Chuan-shan (1619-1692) were famous scholars who, seeing their country subjugated, refused to work for the Manchu Court and devoted their talents to writings calculated to stir up the people's national sentiment.

fight against imperialism and for the nation's existence. They flocked to search for "truth" from the Western countries. For this reason and to infuse fresh blood into the "gentry," the feudal ruling class in 1862 set up China's first educational institution run on modern lines, the "Tung Wen Kuan" in Peking. In 1872 the first group of Chinese students was sent to study in the United States. Afterwards the number of schools and of students studying abroad grew steadily. Many schools were set up by private individuals and many Chinese students went abroad at their own expense. By 1907 there were 2,000 Chinese students preparing for college entrance in Japan alone. By 1909 China had over 1.5 million primary and secondary school pupils and university students. By 1929 this total had jumped to over 9 million, of whom more than 20,000 were college students. Modern intellectuals thus came to form a special grade in Chinese society.

Western Influence

This group was quite different from the feudal "scholar gentry." In a China that had become semi-colonial and semi-feudal, it included not only the descendants of former "scholar gentry" but also people from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois families. The outlook inculcated by their education was, in the main, bourgeois. Official life was no longer their only prospect; most of them became salaried brain-workers.

Furthermore, there was one essential respect in which the modern intellectuals of China differed from those of capitalist countries. Born in troublous times, they saw their motherland, oppressed and bullied by the imperialist powers, in imminent peril of ruin, while the people, still under the rule of feudal forces, lacked all political rights and freedoms. Although the intellectuals constituted only a small fraction of China's huge population, they always found it difficult to complete their education or find a job afterwards. Their economic position was unstable. Life was hard. Almost without exception they were strongly nationalistic and patriotic: they

wanted to change China's situation and their own.

The first progressive Chinese intellectual to be influenced by Western culture and become politically active was Hung Hsiu-chuan (1814-1864). He was a school teacher who had failed many times in his examination for the *hsiu tsai*, a scholastic degree awarded in the prefectural civil service examinations. With his colleague Feng Yun-shan, who had similar antecedents, he propagated some of the simple, primary Christian doctrines such as human equality to the peasants of that time, who were already ripe for revolt. It was these men who started the great Taiping Revolution (1850-1864) which was finally strangled by the joint efforts of foreign intervention and the Ching dynasty.

The Reformers

During the fifties of the nineteenth century, some of the more enlightened of China's feudal intellectuals began to feel that it was necessary to learn something from the new enemies that had attacked China, the capitalist countries of the West. But their interest was wholly in the powerful artillery and formidable warships which they saw as the West's only asset. It was not until the late 1860s, when the first Chinese-owned modern industries were born and when the national crisis had become sharper, that a number of intellectuals appeared who absorbed the new thought of the West. Representative among them were Kang Yu-wei (1858-1927), Liang Chi-chao (1873-1929) and Yen Fu (1853-1921), who wished to see the development of Chinese national capitalism and saw political reform as the way to make China independent, strong and rich.

Both Kang and Liang, who came from mandarin-landlord families, became leaders of the Reform Movement of 1898. Their idea was to save the country from ruin through reforms carried out from above, on the pattern of those of Peter the Great in Russia and Emperor Meiji in Japan. They wanted to turn the autocratic monarchy into a constitutional one.

Yen Fu was one of the first batch of graduates of the Chinese Naval Academy to be sent to England for further studies. But what attracted this young cadet there was not the battleships of the West but its political and natural science. After his return to China he devoted most of his time to translating books on these subjects. Among them were Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* and *Other Essays*, Montesquieu's *L'Esprit des Lois*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty*. Thus Yen Fu was the first man to introduce the political theories and scientific viewpoints of the bourgeois West to China in a comparatively systematic way. His ambition was to make China powerful and prosperous by developing science and by raising the cultural standard of her people.

The rise and spread of reformist rather than of revolutionary thought reflected the weakness of the Chinese national bourgeoisie and its many ties with feudalism. But even reformism, once it threatened to impair their rule, was sure to be hit hard by imperialism and feudalism. The reform movement led by Kang and Liang ended in drastic suppression by the feudal diehards. Some of the patriotic intellectuals who advocated reform and wished to make China strong by that means were put to death. The rest were driven into exile. The utopian view of Western civilization, so idealized by Yen Fu, also proved an illusion. In his latter years even he ceased to eulogize it.

Taking the Revolutionary Path

During the last decade of the nineteenth century, at the time the reform movement was growing, a few intellectuals, touched by more advanced ideas, came to realize, though still somewhat vaguely, that it was necessary to overthrow the feudal rule of the emperors. They therefore began revolutionary activities against the Manchu Court. Their most prominent representative, who later became a revolutionary leader, was Dr. Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925).

As the reformers encountered frustration, more and more patriotic intellectuals

of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois origin, having learnt the lesson of events, ceased to take the reforms of Peter the Great or Emperor Meiji as their model. They wanted to save China by following the pattern of the bourgeois revolutions of America and France. From 1901 on, revolutionary activity aimed at the overthrow of the feudal monarchy and the establishment of a bourgeois democratic republic was initiated by Chinese students in Japan. Later it gradually gained momentum at home. Students and intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin formed a fairly large part of the membership of the revolutionary political party, the Tung Meng Hui (China Revolutionary League) founded under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1905.

Meanwhile the reformists headed by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao continued to stick to their ideas. This led to a struggle among the intellectuals over the two alternatives, revolution and reform, democratic republic and constitutional monarchy. The fight lasted for several years, and in the end it was the reformists who lost. More and more intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin began to side with the revolution.

The bourgeois Revolution of 1911 put an end to the feudal monarchy that had lasted more than two thousand years. After this, the concept of a democratic republic sank deep into the minds of the people. But Yuan Shih-kai, a feudal warlord, snatched the fruits of the revolution. Once more China entered a time of troubles. Local warlords began to dominate the different provinces and were backed behind the scenes by various imperialist powers. Still oppressed by imperialism and under the dark rule of warlords, China remained as much of a semi-colony as before. The dream of a bourgeois republic remained a dream.

The May the Fourth Movement

A large number of patriotic intellectuals were distressed at the way the Revolution of 1911 had come to grief. Soon afterwards the First World War broke out.

During the war years (1914-1918), foreign competition on China's markets eased somewhat, and national industry made some progress. Seeing how imperialism had been weakened during the war and how the working class of Russia had by the October Revolution established a new socialist state, patriotic intellectuals in China gained new hope for national liberation. However, they still held different views on the ways to save the country. Many of them believed in "saving the country by education." Still others believed in "academic studies" or "industrial construction" and other reformist ideas.

On May 4, 1919 an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist movement, mainly initiated by the young students, broke out in Peking. It evoked an immediate response from Chinese students elsewhere. In the latter stage of the movement the Chinese working class appeared for the first time as an awakened and independent political force.

Even before the May the Fourth Movement, some of the more advanced intellectuals had acquired a rudimentary idea of communism and differentiated themselves from the revolutionary bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. Prominent among them was Li Ta-chao (1888-1927), one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party.

Li Ta-chao had read Marxist works while studying in Japan. After his return to China, he was at one time editor of the Peking *Chen Pao* and became a professor at Peking University. He succeeded in changing himself from a radical democrat into a Marxist. In October 1918, articles by him, "The Victory of the Common Folk" and "The Victory of Bolshevism," were published in *New Youth*, a magazine edited by Chen Tu-hsiu (1890-1942). In these two famous articles, Li warmly extolled the great victory of the October Socialist Revolution, declaring that "from now on all men on earth will become common folk, that is, all will become workers."

New Youth not only declared itself the bitter enemy of imperialism and feudalism but also launched bold attacks against the reformist Right wing of the bourgeoisie. As

a result, the movement for a new culture, which had since 1916 fought feudal ideas and upheld democracy, science and a revolution in literature, rapidly became a scientific socialist movement.

During and after the May the Fourth Movement, socialist ideas in China spread far and wide. Many revolutionary intellectuals now joined Communist groups. Among them were Teng Chung-hsia (1894-1933), one of the outstanding leaders of the early Chinese working-class movement, Chu Chiu-pai (1899-1935), well-known revolutionary and man of letters, and Yun Tai-ying (1895-1931), one of the leaders of the early Chinese youth movement. All these men, it is true, came from the families of the decadent gentry. But they were all tempered by the revolution during the May the Fourth Movement, accepted the idea of communism, and became champions of the proletariat.

In 1921 the Communist Party of China was formed. Bringing Marxism into the workers' movement, which was becoming increasingly strong, it gave further impetus to the progress of the revolution in China.

Hu Shih and His Treachery

Around the time of the May the Fourth Movement, after the appearance of the progressive, communist intellectuals, a small number of reactionary intellectuals of a new type also emerged, and allied themselves with imperialism and the comprador bourgeoisie. Typical of such intellectuals was Hu Shih (born 1891), an advocate of individualism and liberalism as opposed to united action by the people for their own future. His purpose in propagating these doctrines was to shake the will of the revolutionary people and break their unity. He used pragmatism, a philosophy which denies the significance of objective truth, to fight against the spread of Marxism, and opposed revolution by preaching the efficacy of "piecemeal" reform.

Reformism of this kind was different from that launched by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao in 1898. Their movement

was not, at its outset, without progressive significance, because there were then still no revolutionary forces. In so far as it opposed the feudal diehards and aimed at developing national capitalism to stem the tide of foreign invasion, it was in the interest of the people and conformed to the historical conditions of the time. It was only when they clung to their old ideas after the revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen had developed that they became a brake on progress and therefore auxiliaries in the fight against the revolution.

Hu Shih, by contrast, began his advocacy of reformism at the time of the May the Fourth Movement, when socialist teachings were beginning to spread and the Chinese revolution was entering a new era. He was a reactionary from the start, as is clear from his own speeches and writings. History had proved that imperialism and feudalism were the two most terrible enemies of the Chinese people. Hu Shih, however, said that imperialist aggression in China was something of a "fairy tale," and that Chinese feudalism "collapsed two thousand years ago." China's real enemies, Hu Shih declaimed, were "poverty, disease, ignorance, corruption, and disorder"—in short, by implication, the Chinese people themselves. Sophistically putting effects before causes, he sought to carry out some minor reforms which would in fact help the imperialists tighten their control over China.

Revolutionary Intellectuals

The great majority of Chinese intellectuals rejected the path of treachery and surrender pointed by Hu Shih. They stood firm on their own position of patriotism. Starting from this base and striking out new paths for themselves, many gradually realized that China's reactionary governments always chose to cling to the imperialists, and that, of all parties, the Chinese Communists were the most adamant in their opposition to imperialism and feudalism. They also came to see that their great strength could come only from the masses of the people. They therefore joined the revolutionary ranks led by the Chinese

Communist Party. Outstanding among them were Lu Hsun (1881-1936), the literary giant of the Chinese revolution, Tsou Tao-fen (1895-1944), prominent political commentator and journalist, and the well-known poet Wen I-to (1899-1946).

Lu Hsun

Lu Hsun had, as a young student in Japan, joined the revolutionary movement led by Sun Yat-sen. Fired by patriotic enthusiasm, he abandoned medicine for social science and literature, hoping thus to contribute more to the progress and reshaping of the nation. When the 1911 Revolution failed to bring any real change he became for a time very dejected. Considering that the oppressive character of China's traditional feudal culture was holding up progress, he began to introduce into this country the ideas of Nietzsche, then widely prevalent in the West, which assert the perfectibility of men through self-assertion. By this he hoped to develop people's intellect and will so as to become immune to counter-revolutionary threats and enticement.

At the time of the May the Fourth Movement, Lu Hsun wrote the *Madman's Diary*. This masterpiece exposed the crimes to which feudalism gives rise; it voiced sympathy with the patriotic movement of the students and their struggle against oppression. Later because of his outspokenness, Lu Hsun was forced to leave Peking, the site of the warlord government, and went to Canton, in the south, then the base of the revolution.

In 1927 Chiang Kai-shek, in collusion with imperialism, betrayed the cause of revolution and massacred thousands upon thousands of patriotic youth. This bloody event opened Lu Hsun's eyes. His thinking began to change radically. He abandoned his evolutionary views on society and history and took the side of the proletarian revolution, of militant collectivism which aimed at transforming the world. Eventually he became a communist.

Tsou Tao-fen

Tsou Tao-fen came from a poor family. After graduating from the American-run

St. John's University at Shanghai he went into journalism and publishing, later becoming editor of the weekly *Life*. During this time he was already strongly patriotic and deeply concerned about the national and social destiny of China. But not having freed himself from the influence of bourgeois reformism, he did not yet advocate revolution.

After September 18, 1931, when the Japanese imperialists occupied north-east China and began their effort to subdue all China, the nation faced a serious crisis. Tsou Tao-fen, with ardent patriotism, tried to seek a way to resist Japan and save China from extinction. He was deeply affected by his knowledge of the Kuomintang's treacheries and surrenders, the appeal of the Communist Party for unity and resistance to Japan, and the great vigour of the people's "national salvation" movement. Participation in this movement and experience gained during his tour of the Western capitalist countries and the Soviet Union convinced Tsou that the labouring masses and the Chinese Communist Party were the central force for the liberation of the Chinese people, that China's future lay in socialism. He died in 1944 while on a tour of the resistance base led by the Chinese Communist Party in north Kiangsu. In his will he said: "During this trip of investigation and study in the base behind the enemy lines, I have seen with my own eyes the great struggle waged by the people. It has enabled me to see that New China has a brilliant future... I hope the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party will make a thorough investigation into the history of my life of struggle, and, if it finds me qualified, honour me with posthumous membership of the Party." And his application for a posthumous Party membership was granted.

Wen I-to

Wen I-to was a famous poet. In 1919, he was a student at Tsinghua College in Peking, and joined the May the Fourth Movement with eager patriotism. Later he went

to study in the United States. He was disappointed by what he saw when he returned to China and fell into a fit of melancholy.

During the War of the Northern Expedition of 1926-27, a period of revolutionary upsurge in China, Wen I-to worked for a short time in the Wuhan Revolutionary Government. But not being in full agreement with the policies being followed, he resigned and went away. Deeply romantic in nature, he secluded himself in a university to devote his life to study, thinking he would interest himself no longer in political affairs.

In 1937 the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression broke out. Wen left Peking for Kunming, where he lived in poverty. With his ivory tower smashed and thrown into closer contact with the masses, he began to realize how corrupt the Kuomintang government was and what misery the people lived in. In a conscious effort to free himself from scepticism and melancholy he began to read books on Marxism-Leninism, the writings of Lu Hsun and the political literature of the Chinese Communist Party. Gradually he realized that the focus of social life is politics; that the politics of every man are determined by his outlook on life. He came out boldly for the popular movement and joined the China Democratic League, a progressive political party. Struggling in the ranks of the people, he showed an incomparable heroism. In 1946 he was assassinated by Kuomintang reactionaries, sacrificing his life for the revolution.

Lu Hsun, Tsou Tao-fen and Wen I-to were revolutionary intellectuals of the older generation. During the thirty years from 1919 to 1949, revolutionary intellectuals of the younger generation also appeared in great numbers. This was true particularly during the student movement for resistance to Japanese aggression and national salvation, which began on December 9, 1935 and was led by the Chinese Communist Party, and in the various patriotic democratic movements in the Kuomintang-ruled areas during the period of the

War of Liberation in 1945-1949. Young students and intellectuals played an outstanding role in these movements. They were reinforcements to the progressive ranks, which soon became new strands in the fabric of the Chinese Communist Party and the revolutionary ranks which followed its leadership.

Answer to Two Problems

For a century at every turn of their difficult and tortuous quest for a means of national salvation, Chinese intellectuals were confronted with two problems: What was the future of China to be? What force could be relied upon in the struggle for that future?

Before the May the Fourth Movement historical conditions did not allow them to see that the future of the nation could be anything but capitalist. To realize this future, the reformers of 1898 pinned their hopes on Emperor Kwang Hsu (who reigned from 1875 to 1908) and a handful of patriotic intellectuals, the revolutionaries of 1911, in their turn relied on the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. But both the reformers and bourgeois revolutionaries met with failure.

After the May the Fourth Movement of 1919 the Chinese working class became the leader of the Chinese revolution. It was then that the progressive intellectuals of China began to see a new future for their country, a future of socialism. They also found the true moving force of revolutionary struggle—the mass of workers and peasants. So, since 1919, the course of the intellectuals in their march towards revolution was one of alliance with the worker and peasant masses. Through this alliance the intellectuals found a means of making the most effective use of their own strength and realizing their hope of saving the nation.

Modern China's intellectuals have traditionally been patriotic. But owing to the Western-type bourgeois education which most of them received they were

imbued to varying extents with a bourgeois outlook. This marred their thought, influencing them towards individualism and the idea that they could take up a position "above the classes." It has not been easy to free them from these fetters and enable them to take the road of revolution in alliance with the workers and peasants.

The Path Shown by History

After the May the Fourth Movement of 1919 more and more intellectuals took the path of revolution. But in proportion to the total number of intellectuals they were still comparatively few. Other intellectuals, with the exception of a handful of reactionaries like Hu Shih, either sympathized with the revolution in different degrees or sought to make the nation independent, rich and strong through such ways as the promotion of science, popularization of education, and development of industry. Though these partial ways proved illusory, the hopes of those who followed them were realized with the liberation of China. When, in 1949, Chairman Mao Tse-tung proclaimed to the world that "we have stood up," the intellectuals of China, like the working people, felt a pride and exultation such as they had never before known.

During the past six years China has become united and independent as never before. In every sphere of nation-building, the Chinese people, including the intellectuals, are "engaged in a great and most glorious cause, never undertaken by our forefathers." (Mao Tse-tung.) These facts have had a great impact on Chinese intellectuals, who are becoming more and more convinced that socialism is the only way for China, and that the working people are the main strength of both the revolution and national construction. That is why they so greatly admire the Chinese Communist Party, are ready to give their best to socialist construction, and have chosen to study Marxism-Leninism. For China's intellectuals, the path which they must travel has been pointed out by history itself.

Industry Comes to the National Minorities

Lin Kang

WITH the tide of industrial construction spreading to China's frontier regions, radical changes are taking place in the economic life of the national minority peoples. Where land has been tilled only with wooden ploughs, modern farm implement and fertilizer factories are being set up. In the vast pasture lands with their sparse nomad population, geological surveying parties have discovered untold underground wealth. Huge industrial buildings are rising where there was once no modern industry whatsoever.

In pre-liberation China, most industry was concentrated along the coast. As for the national minority regions, the Kuomintang regime considered them merely as storehouses of raw materials—it did not want industry in the homelands of these peoples.

The policy of the People's Republic of China in this respect is the exact opposite. It exerts itself to help the minorities develop their economy so that they can come abreast of the more advanced sections of the country in the march towards socialism, and wipe out every vestige of the inequality which has stained the history of relations between China's nationalities. Among the tasks of the People's Government, this is one of the most important.

Industry is the mainspring of all economic development. The minority peoples can free themselves from backwardness and poverty only when they build industry. This is now happening, and more than two-thirds of the most important industrial construction projects to be completed during China's first Five-Year Plan are

located in the interior of the country and in the national minority areas along its frontiers.

Inner Mongolia

An example is the Autonomous Region of Inner Mongolia, the first national autonomous region to be set up in China. When established eight years ago, it was one of the country's more backward areas. Its whole industry consisted of a few small electric plants, a woollen factory and some sixty small workshops—all with worn and obsolete equipment. Today it has over 200 mines and factories of fair to large size, a third of which are equipped with modern machinery. It is now beginning to establish its own engineering, power, tanning and building-material industries. There are a great many smaller workshops too, of course. Food and dairy processing units alone number several hundreds.

Hailar, in north-eastern Inner Mongolia, has become a new industrial centre. In Paotow, in its south-western part, a new iron and steel base is growing up, and coal, power and engineering industry is growing around it.

The plan is that by 1957 the industrial output of Inner Mongolia will account for 36.8 per cent of the value of all production in this area (including that of agriculture and stock-breeding). That is almost double the 1952 percentage, which was 19.

Sinkiang

In the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region (formerly Sinkiang Province) the rise has been even more spectacular. Before the liberation it had only a handful of

small, poorly equipped, ill-managed factories producing things like pottery, soap and matches. Now, more than a hundred big, up-to-date plants have been built there, both north and south of the Tien-shan Mountains.

The August 1 Iron and Steel Works is still expanding. The Urumchi Automatic Power Plant and the October Motor Repair Works are equipped with modern machinery. The Liutsowan coal-field, which stretches for scores of miles and is one of the biggest in all China, is now partly mechanized. The derricks of the Sinkiang Petroleum Company dot the desert where it meets the Tien-shan range, pumping oil from depths of 6,000 feet and more. Another enterprise under construction is the Sinkiang Non-ferrous Metal Company.

Besides these, the region now has acquired engineering, cotton textile, silk reeling and weaving, printing and dyeing, flour milling, tractor repair, tanning, fuddressing and sausage-casing industries.

Sinkiang's industrial production in 1955 stood at over twenty times its 1949 level.

Other National Areas

The Chuang National Autonomous Chou* in western Kwangsi has more than trebled its industrial output since its

*An autonomous chou is an administrative unit intermediate between an autonomous region (province) and an autonomous county.

establishment three years ago. Now it has over 600 factories and mines.

In Yenpien Korean Autonomous Chou in Kirin, north-east China, industry has grown with extraordinary speed. It is more industrialized than any other minority area, and even China taken as a whole. By the end of 1954, industry accounted for 76 per cent of its entire production.

Industry is also appearing in national areas which previously had little or none, for instance, in the autonomous territorial units of the Li and Miao peoples of Hainan Island, the Miao people of western Hunan, the Tibetans of western and north-western Szechuan, and the Tai and Chingpo nationalities of Yunnan. New enterprises in these places cater mainly to the needs of the local population. They include electric power plants, oil-pressing factories, iron works making agricultural implements and other articles, cement plants and leather factories.

Even remote areas such as the Sikang-Tibet plateau and the Yi national region in the Liangshan Mountains in Szechuan and Yunnan now have some electricity as well as small industries—mica and wool-washing factories, sawmills, etc.

Growing Working Class

With the growth of industry, a working class is growing among the minorities.

The Inner Mongolian and Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Regions now have between them more than 20,000 workers connected with industry.

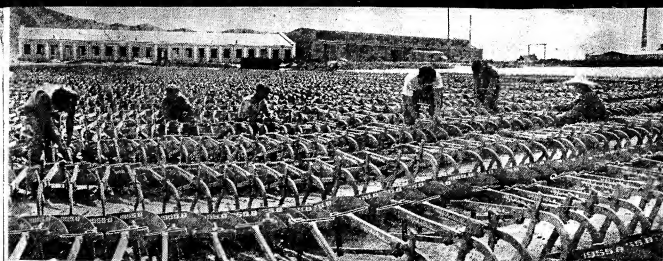
Among building workers on capital construction at Lanchow, Kansu Province, more than a thousand are Huis or Tung-hsiangs.

Workers in the big Yunnan tin mines belong to eleven different nationalities, including Yi, Hui, Miao, Hani and Minchia.

On the Sikang-Tibet plateau the number of Yi and Tibetan workers is growing fast. The first "shock brigade" of

Yusupova, a Uighur girl back from training at the Soochow No. 1 Silk Filature, Kiangsu, passing on her skill to others at the state-owned Helden Silk Filature in Sinkiang

People's China



The first batch of new-type farm tools from the Sinkiang Engineering Works

young Tibetans is now working in the Patan mica mine in the Kantze Tibetan Autonomous Chou, Szechuan, and regularly beating their production quotas.

In almost every minority area young people belonging to the local nationality are flocking from field and pasture to the new factories and mines, attracted by the chance of participating in the progress of their peoples and the country at large.

Influence on Agriculture

Industry in the national minority regions is also having a salutary effect on agriculture and stock-breeding there.

In Inner Mongolia local factories are making twenty different kinds of improved agricultural tools, including the new double-wheeled double-shared ploughs. They have also finished designing snow-ploughs, wool-shearing machines, double-barrelled hunting guns, automatic drinking fountains for live-stock and so on. All these are warmly welcomed by the people.

The Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region has, in the last three years, manufactured 90,000 farm implements of new types, thus helping the movement for increased production connected with the upsurge of mutual-aid and co-operation in agriculture.

In the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Chou, large quantities of farm equipment are being produced, including carts, ploughs and weeding machines for irrigated fields, rice-husking machinery and so on.

This is helpful to the region's rice crop grown in the irrigated land between the 40th and 50th parallel north.

Until very recently, the Tibetans, Miaos, Yis and Chingpos of south-west China tilled their land with ploughs of wood or ox-horn. Now most of them use locally-made iron tools, and some are using animal-drawn implements of new types.

Peasants of many nationalities who never before employed chemical or other factory-produced fertilizers are now doing so, and in many cases these are produced in their own regions.

Improved Living Conditions

Life for the minority peoples is improving. Better communications and trading facilities, which have gone hand in hand with the development of industry, make various foodstuffs available more cheaply. Consumer goods of local make are being supplied in ever-increasing variety and quantity. The rubber factory in the Yenpien Korean Autonomous Region produces more than a million pairs of rubber-soled shoes every year. The women of the region, who always used to sew their own flowing skirts in the national style, can now wear factory-made ones of similar pattern. Kazakh and Uighur women dress in the colourful cottons, of locally favoured designs, of which the Sinkiang Printing and Dyeing Works turns out over 2,000 bolts a day.

June 16, 1956

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In Inner Mongolia millions of gallons of milk used to be thrown away every year because there were no processing plants. At present there are 57 such plants in the region making butter, cheese, dried milk and other products. The herdsmen can sell all their surplus milk without difficulty.

Place in National Planning

The minority regions are not only receiving help from other parts of the country. They are also helping the economic progress of the entire country. Oil from Sinkiang and Kansu is one example. Asbestos and mica, which come from Inner Mongolia, Szechuan and Tibet, are important to many branches of production.

Though industry in these areas has grown, this is still only a beginning, for their resources are very great. Their industry still accounts for only a very small proportion of the whole national economy. Inner Mongolia has many metals and other minerals. A huge new iron field

yielding very high grade ore has been discovered. The Dzungarian and Tarim Basins, in Sinkiang, are rich in oil. Around the Pamir and Tianshan Mountains, coal is abundant. The Tsaidam Basin, in Chinghai Province, is a real cornucopia of natural wealth. The Greater and Lesser Khingan Mountains, in the north-east, contain a sixth of the total forest wealth of China.

On the Sikkang-Tibet plateau scientists have discovered important sources of more than 30 minerals, including fuels, iron, non-ferrous metals, chemicals and heat-resistant materials. The torrential rivers along China's south-western frontiers are an incalculable source of hydroelectric power.

Even more important, the people of the national minority regions are industrious. They are being helped by the rest of China to complement their new-won legal equality by economic equality. Industry in these regions, therefore, will grow faster and faster.

MADE IN CHINA

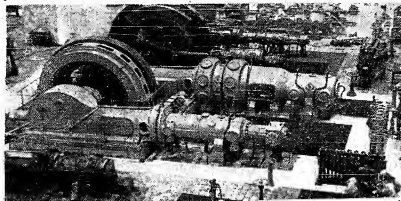
2,400 H.P. High-Pressure Nitrogen Compressor

A 2,400 h.p. high-pressure nitrogen compressor which can take in 7,800 cubic yards of nitrogen an hour has gone into operation at the Dairen Chemical Works. This is the first of its kind designed and made in China.

The nitrogen compressor is indispensable in the production of nitrogenous

fertilizers. It is a large and complex machine: any wrong calculation in design can lead to dangerous explosions. Big chemical engineering machinery of this sort, requiring a high skill in construction, was formerly all imported from Japan, Germany, the United States and other countries.

The production of this compressor is an important event for China's fertilizer industry. It means that the daily increasing needs of China's peasants for chemical fertilizers on their co-operative farms will be better satisfied.



Write More, Write Better

Liu Pai-yu

DAY by day the face of our country changes. New relations between man and man supplant the old. The reading public expects books written today to reflect all this and give a vivid picture of their changing world, and makes no bones about saying so. For instance, the Union of Chinese Writers got a letter from a member of a prospecting team. "Think of us," he said, "tramping along, planting our footprints everywhere—mountain and forest, desert and plateau. A tough life—but we never let it get us down. That's the sort of thing you ought to be writing about... rattling good yarns of pioneers and prospectors, things that'll show the youngsters what's what and make them eager to do likewise..." There was another letter from a housewife, a mother of six, begging for more children's books. "A child needs books," she wrote, "as a plant needs water or a baby its mother's milk." The union is always getting letters from factory workers, shop assistants, doctors, soldiers, teachers, school children, members of the national minorities in China, all saying much the same thing.

Chinese writers held a national congress in 1953—their second—which set itself the task of "producing more books

Liu Pai-yu is a noted Chinese novelist. Among his books are *Six A. N. and Other Stories* and *Flames Ahead*, both of them translated into English and published by the Foreign Languages Press, Peking.

for socialism." Over the past two years our writers, new ones and veterans, have made a real effort to steep themselves in the life around them and commit it to writing. But our country is growing so fast, changing so fast that there is simply not enough creative writing, and there simply aren't enough writers. The Union of Chinese Writers has only 946 members (including members of its local branches) and only about a fifth of them are full-time writers. Something has to be done, and done quickly. For within the next seven years illiteracy will be practically wiped out. We shall have six hundred million people, all clamouring for books!

What We Did

Our work over the past two years has paved the way for a real socialist literature. This has meant that our writers have had to wage a series of fights, but we have gone a good way to clearing up all sorts of obstacles in our path. We have spoken out against and repudiated Yu Ping-po's idealistic, ivory-tower approach to the Chinese classics. We had to show that the much plugged views on literature held by Hu Shih were part and parcel of his reactionary political views. We launched a campaign to expose the counter-revolutionary Hu Feng clique.* We also fought to

*See "Exposure of the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique" in *People's China*, No. 14, 1955.

expose and clear out sectarianism and egoism from our own ranks.

This battle of ideas, these conflicts and struggles were almost certainly to be expected. They were a reflection of the class struggle during the early years in which the Chinese people embarked on socialist construction. Certainly nothing but good has come out of it. Writers have begun to feel what exciting times they live in, begun to feel an urge to write about them. They are beginning to take an active part in the new life.

Literary criticism has also received more attention. The Writers' Union recently asked hundreds of writers to say what their plans were, and 532 of them replied. The survey shows that they will write 335 works of literary criticism. It also shows that between them they are engaged on, or have in mind, over two thousand novels, essays, sketches, and so forth. Of course we are not thinking only of quantity; readers want quality too.

Young Recruits

And that is not the whole story. The state of affairs where only a small corps of professionals was writing is changing. From the time of liberation (October 1949) to December last, 13,812 books, essays, sketches and so on were published in China. Of these, 11,594 were not the work of professionals. A national gathering of young writers held last March was attended by no less than 497 of them. Close on 200 had already had their work reprinted in book form. This is typical of the flood of new talent. Young people who feel they have a flair for writing know they have only to get in touch with the union to get advice and help, and hundreds, even thousands, have done so.

What delights us most is the fact that many new writers are springing up among the national minorities of China. There are, for instance, the Mongolian novelists, Malchinku and Sayntsoqt, the Chuang poet, Wei Chi-lin, and the Uighur poets,

Tsiya Samidi and Teeppan-eliev, all of whom have done honour to their national culture and introduced a new note into Chinese literature.

The stature of our writers is certainly growing. At the same time we have to admit that there is still plenty of room for improvement. Writers still tend to use far too limited a canvas, to hammer away at the same old themes, and to present them in far too detached a way, without really getting close to the people. Films are immensely popular in China nowadays, but there are far too few good scenarios.

We must also point out the tendency to slip into ready-made formulas, to drift into niggling "naturalistic" detail with a mass of unnecessary descriptions and irrelevant incidents. All this prevents us from giving a genuine, faithful picture of life; it detracts from the artistic value of our books, and prevents us from producing a rich and plentiful supply of books.

What is at the bottom of this trouble? Surely it is because we, as authors, haven't yet identified ourselves with the emergent forces, made ourselves one with the common people. Writing has been too much a closed shop. The way to remedy this is to throw the gate of literature open to all, to the working masses, to the young. We must really carry out the policy of "art for the people," get our writers, both the veterans and the young recruits, to plunge into the thick of socialist construction, make what we write a living part of it, and make it a living part of what we write.

Working to Plan

Empty slogans are no use at all. What is needed is some solid organizational work, a series of steps that will really get us somewhere. That is the purpose of the programme adopted by the Union of Chinese Writers at its second council meeting. It sets out to give writers facilities for political and general study and research, to swap experience, to branch out into new fields of writing, and to paint a broader

canvas; to encourage amateurs to continue writing and find them a market; to scan the papers and periodicals and collect and publish anthologies of short stories and other work to give them a wider distribution; it also proposes a system of awards and prizes for outstanding work and especially to make arrangements for writers to visit factories and the countryside, to live and work where new things are taking place.

We have a body of skilled and prolific writers who have contributed much to our literature. They are the people we must turn to to help make our literature one of the best in the world. But even our best writers must improve themselves. As long as writers stand aloof from life they are bound to turn out dated, second-hand material which won't make much impact. There are writers, for instance, who can turn out good works on past revolutionary struggles but know too little about what is going on in construction today. Some writers float, as it were, on the surface of life and drift with the stream. Others are not keen enough on getting to know life. But life around us is changing so fast that if we writers fail to go deep into it and know it, we'll be left behind realities; we shall never be pioneers, trail-blazers.

To Live Among the People

To make it easier for writers, both new and established, to take the plunge and get their bearings, to provide them with a base from which to set forth to chart the ocean of life: that is what the Writers' Union sets out to do. Already we have made it possible for authors to spend time at the Yangtze River bridge, at Meishan Reservoir, at the great Sanmen Gorge dam site; to pay extended visits to steel works, factories and mines; to live and work with the peasants in the farming co-operatives and on the collective farms. So, in a few years, we shall have a crop of writers who not only know how to write, but who know—really know—how the wheels go round in China today, who can use their imagina-

tion to re-create in their work the verve and keenness of the people of our time, to depict a new life, exciting, full of promise and fulfilment.

Study of Marxism-Leninism

If we writers want to know life we have to make a serious study of Marxism-Leninism; this is the philosophy which gives us a keener perception, which gives us a proper explanation of the conflicts in life, explains what the forces are which make for change and progress, which enables us to penetrate the surface of life and discover its hidden richness.

Nearly three-quarters of the members of the Writers' Union are not full-time writers. That means the latent force is tremendous. They can be asked to write more. But they must not get bogged down with routine work: they must have time to do creative writing. That is one of the ways the union helps—by arranging paid holidays for them away from their daily job, and seeing that people like editors and organizers get a certain amount of free time for writing every week, plus an annual spell when they can really get out and mix with the people.

To make our literature flourish we must pay more attention to the theoretical study of literature, we must foster literary criticism. In recent years too little attention has been paid to this, and we have only a few good critics. This needs remedying. The Writers' Union and the Literary Research Institute of the Academy of Sciences have a plan to edit and publish a series of books on the history of Chinese literature, on rhetoric and so on. We are also organizing a systematic study of the writings of Lu Hsuan and other important writers who appeared after the May the Fourth Movement of 1919, and also of contemporary writers. In addition to that, we must also make a critical study of the ideas and trends that have prevailed at different times in literary criticism. We must see to it that our writers are introduced in a systematic way to writings expressing the

Marxist-Leninist view on art and to the progressive literature of other lands.

Fostering Young Writers

As I said, the fostering of young writers is set down in the programme of the Writers' Union as one of our key tasks. One of the things we propose to do for a start is to organize literary groups for young people in the larger cities and factories, and gradually extend them to the smaller towns, the mining areas and the farming co-operatives. The union will make arrangements for experienced members to give these groups whatever help they need. Established writers will become patrons of and advisers to these groups, with the special job of encouraging young men and women with a talent for writing, and helping them place their work with newspapers and magazines. They will arrange lectures and courses for young writers, correct their manuscripts, suggest ways of treating themes, and follow their progress either in person or by correspondence.

Every other year, or once every three years, the young writers will hold a national conference to discuss literary problems, swap experience, find out what difficulties are encountered in their work, and get tips from the veterans. A college for training writers will also be set up.

I already mentioned that writers from the national minorities have been making a very good showing in the past few years. It is certain that much more of their work, both original and critical, will be published in the literary magazines in future, as will the best of the oral and traditional tales and poetry of the minorities. There will be much more translation from the minority languages into Chinese and vice versa. At the present moment the union is preparing to set up a committee on the minority literatures, and as soon as conditions are ripe it will certainly form branches of the union in the minority areas, and start literary magazines in the local languages.

Literary contests, writers' conferences and public discussions on literary work are

all valuable forms of social activity which clarify writers' ideas and give them a better understanding of their craft. Many a writer has been put on the right track at one of these gatherings in which old and young hammer out common problems and the man in the street has a chance to make comradely criticisms and helpful suggestions.

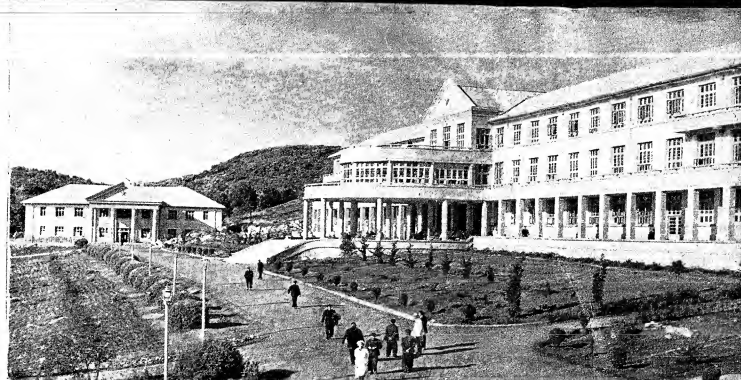
Literary Interchange

Another thing the union is doing is promoting a vigorous "cross-fertilization" through literary interchange with countries abroad. One of the items in our programme is the publication of a "Yearbook of World Literature." We intend to translate all the foreign classics and the best works of contemporary writers abroad. The best of our works will be translated into various foreign languages. This is bound to make for closer ties between Chinese writers and their foreign colleagues.

As part of all this work the Writers' Union and other literary bodies are improving and extending the literary magazines. The union's fortnightly magazine, *Wen Yi Pao* (Literature and Art), is being turned into a popular paper, appearing every three days, discussing social and aesthetic problems of literature and art. New literary magazines are coming out in Sian, Tientsin and Shanghai. *People's Literature* and the *New Observer*, which have hitherto appeared only in Chinese, will be publishing editions in the minority languages, such as Korean, Mongolian, Uighur. *Chinese Literature*, the quarterly in English, is making plans to publish editions in Russian, Japanese and other foreign languages.

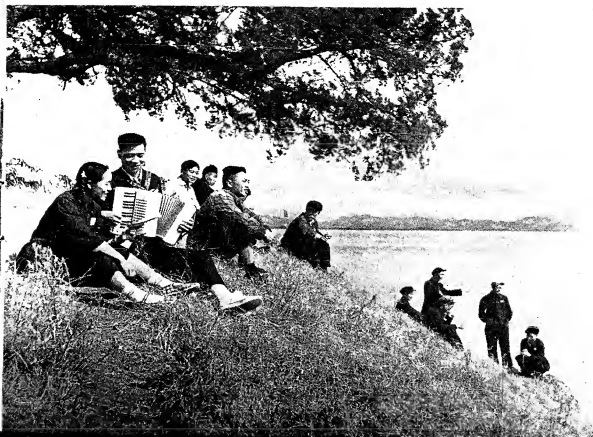
These are just a few of the tasks we have set ourselves. We firmly believe that if we make up our minds to work hard, we shall create a literature which springs from, and is part and parcel of, our six hundred millions who are fast making China a socialist country. They deserve, and we are determined to give them more and better books.

People's China



WORKERS' SANATORIUM IN YUNNAN

This is one of the many new workers' sanatoria in China. This one is in lovely Kunming, beside Lake Tien, in Yunnan Province in the south-west. At present about 200 workers are receiving treatment



Above:
The sanatorium
and its grounds

An outing
by the lake

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Chinese scientists, backed by the Communist Party and the People's Government, are determined to catch up with the rest of the world. In the past few months, 300 scientists in Peking have been devising a twelve-year national plan for science



The veterans pay great attention to training young scientists. Here Feng Tei-yei, Director of the Institute of Physiology and Biochemistry at the Academy of Sciences, helps Fan Shih-fan, assistant researcher, to dissect a rabbit's cerebrum



Chao Chung-yao, nuclear physicist, at work



Chinese scientists are all for learning from others and keeping in touch with their colleagues all over the world. Professor Li Shou-kwang (J. S. Lee) (left), Academician O p a r i n (U.S.S.R.) (right), and Professor C. F. Powell (Britain) at the 16th Executive Council meeting of the World Federation of Scientific Workers in Peking

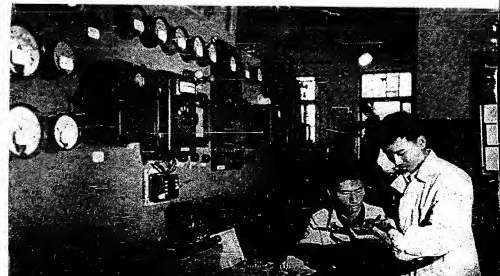
Wang Kan-chang (left), physicist and Deputy-Director of the Institute of Physics at the Academy of Sciences, discussing instruments made by the institute with an associate researcher

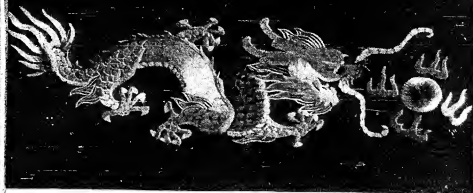


The Academy of Sciences and other bodies are helping some thirty of the national minorities in China whose languages have never been written down, or been written inadequately, devise or improve their written language. Fu Mao-chi (right) of the Institute of Linguistics and Philology discusses the Hsishuangpanna Tai language with his colleagues. One of them, Tiao Shih-hsun (centre), is from the Hsishuangpanna Tai Autonomous Chou, Yunnan

Tsuo Cheng-lu and his wife, Li Lin, returned to China from Britain four years ago. Tsuo was one of the scientists who recently completed the purification of succinic dehydrogenase from living things. Li Lin, a metallurgist, is one of a number of scientists studying the action of borax in steel

The oil industry in China is a thriving youngster. Here is a control panel at the Institute of Petroleum at the Academy of Sciences. Specialists here have achieved good results in the study of synthesis of liquid fuel by the fluidized-bed-catalyst process





Dragon design

SOOCHOW EMBROIDERY

Of all the local varieties of Chinese needlework perhaps that of Soochow and Hunan is the best known. Noted for the vigor of its patterns, bright, gay colours and excellent workmanship, Soochow embroidery goes back at least to the time of the Three Kingdoms — 1,700 years ago

A cushion cover with butterflies and flowers



Two women of Mutu, a small town in Soochow, comparing their work

To Soochow embroidery, staleness is the unforgivable sin, and they often enlist the help of the Chinese Artists' Union in working out new designs. Here are two painters, Tao Sheng-fu (left) and Ku Chung-hua (right), studying colour and design with Chin Ching-fen, director of an embroidery co-operative



Built Under the 5-Year Plan

Shenyang Electric Wire Factory



SHENYANG Electric Wire Factory is the biggest modern plant of its kind in China. It has been expanded and reconstructed recently, and its first output — high-tension transmission wire — is being used in the construction of the Futseling and Meishan Hydroelectric Power Stations. It is now turning out all sorts of wires and cables — steel reinforced aluminium wire, bare copper wire, aluminium wire, paper insulated wire, etc. for the Tangshan Steel Plant, the Yellow River Water Conservancy Commission, Chengchow Heat and Power Station and Shenyang Transformer Factory. Very soon it will start producing the wires used in aircraft, motor-cars and tractors, and many other sorts of insulated wires never before made in China.

This factory was established twenty years ago. But since the reconstruction, which began in 1953, it has become a totally new factory. Mechanical and electrical equipment from the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic has completely replaced heavy manual labour. For example, the copper smelting and wire-drawing shops were notorious for their hellish conditions in the old days. In the former, it took seven or eight workers to charge the furnace, working at a temperature of over 1,000°C with the copper ingots. Now the charging is done by a machine operated by a single worker. Similarly, the worker who operates the turntable casting machine sits comfortably

in a seat where a special device keeps the temperature below 43°C. In the old wire-drawing shop workers had to carry copper ingots weighing about 180 pounds one by one and put them into the heating furnace, where they were heated to more than 900°C, hauled out with long tongs, rushed towards the drawing machine and eased on to the draw-plates. Now the ingots are carried to the furnace by automatic conveyors and electric cranes and fed into the furnace by automatic pushers. The pushers also cause the heated ingots to drop on to the draw-plate.

To control the temperature in the furnaces and humidity in the workshops and to measure the flow and pressure of water, air and steam were once considered the most difficult tasks in such a factory. A great deal is done by automatic gauges and controls. Gauges not only show the actual temperature in the furnace, but record the exact temperature at every minute in the day, and so provide data for technical improvement.

Another problem in former days was safety while testing high-tension wires and cables. Accidents were all too frequent. The new testing room is equipped with a fool-proof circuit which cuts out any possibility of mishaps. The current is cut off automatically the moment the tester crosses the threshold. He can make all necessary

The picture above shows a shop of the Shenyang Electric Wire Factory.

June 16, 1956

arrangements in his own time with perfect confidence, and not till he has left the room do switches become live and gauges start to operate again.

Though the production processes are so completely changed, the visitor to this factory can see that it has retained many of the old buildings. The Soviet experts who helped with the reconstruction proposed that the old buildings should be utilized to the highest possible degree so as to save funds. That was not as easy as it seemed. For example, a new rolling machine weighing 1,100 tons had to be installed. That meant not only a base taking over 35,000 cubic feet of concrete but also

deepening the foundations of the shop. No Chinese worker had ever done such a job before. After much calculation, one of the Soviet experts decided to brace up the whole building with a steel frame and then lay new foundations, more than 6½ feet deep, under it.

Though many of the workshops are only now getting into their stride, since reconstruction, the output of Shenyang Electric Wire Factory is seven times or more what it was. The workers are steadily raising labour productivity and trying out the manufacture of new products. They know so much depends on them in promoting the electrification of their country.

Kalidasa, Heine and Dostoevsky in China

On May 26 a meeting was held in Peking to commemorate three great writers, Kalidasa, Heine and Dostoevsky. This was part of a whole series of celebrations held in response to the call of the World Peace Council for the commemoration of a number of famous men in 1956.

One of our staff visited three scholars who have specially studied these three writers and asked them each to say something about them and the impact of their works on China.

—Editor

Kalidasa

Chin Ke-mu

Professor of the Oriental Languages
Department, Peking University

OF all the great poets of ancient India, Kalidasa is one of the best known to the Chinese. Except Ashvaghosha, the Buddhist poet who wrote *Buddhacarita*, and Rabindranath Tagore, the great modern poet, no other poet of India has enjoyed higher fame in China than he.

Kalidasa was first introduced to the Chinese people hundreds of years ago. About the thirteenth century, Kalidasa's well-known lyric *Meghaduta* appeared in Tanjur, a collection of Buddhist texts in Tibetan. This was perhaps the earliest translation of his work into foreign languages. Later on it was translated into Mongolian.

The Rev. Mandju, a Chinese Buddhist poet of great reputation, was the first in modern times to make Kalidasa available to the Chinese people. In the preface to his *Literature, Foreign and Chinese*

published in 1907, he speaks of Kalidasa and his famous play *Shakuntala*, and incidentally translated Goethe's poem in praise of the play into classical Chinese verse. It is said that he translated *Shakuntala* into Chinese, but unfortunately this translation has been lost.



Kalidasa

Later on, three versions of *Shakuntala* appeared in Chinese, all of them rendered into modern Chinese prose from a French translation as were the *Meghaduta* and *Ritusamhara*. An adaptation in the style of classical Chinese drama was also published. From these translations the Chinese people came to appreciate the genius of Kalidasa, and this great poet and his play have enjoyed an increasing popularity in Chinese literary circles.

Professor Hsu Ti-shan, a Chinese writer and scholar who had been to India and done some research into Sanskrit, wrote about Kalidasa and his works in his *Indian Literature*. Unfortunately he died before he was able to undertake the work of translation which he planned.

In honour of the present commemoration, Professor Chi Hsien-lin has made a new translation of *Shakuntala* direct from the Sanskrit into modern Chinese, closely following the style of the original. This translation was based on a Bengali version, edited by Pischel, a German scholar. I have myself translated *Meghaduta* from the Sanskrit into modern Chinese poetical form. My translation is based

on the 115 stanzas in Mallinatha's commentary. These two books are shortly to be published by the People's Literature Publishing House. Professor Wu Hsiao-ling has translated five poems from the *Ritusamhara*, and these have been published in *Peking Literature*. We also intend to translate other works of Kalidasa.

The translation of and commentary on *Shakuntala* were well received not only by the literati but by the public. To scholars of Chinese literature, this drama is of particular interest, for it is similar to classical Chinese drama both in subject-matter and treatment. For instance, the style of both the prologue and interlude can be paralleled in classical Chinese drama. Vidushaka in the drama bears much resemblance to the jesters in ancient Chinese royal courts. In the earlier stages of Chinese drama, these court jesters played a very important role. Such similarities have tempted many Chinese scholars to try to trace cross-influences between Sanskrit drama and the classical drama of China. Research on these lines has not so far brought any noticeable result, and it seems more probable that Chinese and Indian drama arose in similar circumstances and took much the same path, but developed independently of each other.

The fame of Kalidasa as an Indian writer in China is by no means the result of lack of competition. A great deal of Indian Buddhist literature was translated into Chinese and known from ancient times. Lu Hsun, the great modern Chinese writer, set great store by these works, particularly the fables. As for Indian literature outside the confines of Buddhism, we had a modern translation of a poem by the Bengali woman poet Taru Dutt made by the Rev. Mandju at the turn of the century. He has on more than one occasion made reference to the great Indian epic *Mahabharata*. Professor Hsu Ti-shan has written a general, though rather rough and sketchy introduction to Indian literature and writers from the *Rigveda* to Tagore. Professor Cheng Chen-to has also given considerable space

The above portrait of Kalidasa is drawn by Tung Yu-chih on the basis of legendary descriptions.

June 16, 1956

People's China

to Indian literature in his *Outline of Literature*, and during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, Professor Liu Wuchi published a pamphlet on Indian literature in Chungking. And since Tagore visited China in 1924, the Chinese people's interest in Indian literature has grown even more. Much of Tagore's work is now available in Chinese. His famous play *Chitra* was staged in Peking. Among classical Sanskrit literature translated into Chinese we may mention here selections from Bhartrihari's *Shatakavaya* and *Savitri-upakhyaana* from the *Mahabharata*, the translation of which I undertook some years ago.

Since liberation, relations between China and India have grown closer and closer. We are now introducing Indian literature to the Chinese people on an all-round, comprehensive scale. The steady increase in the amount of contemporary Indian literature translated into Chinese testifies to a growing popular demand. In the past few decades a number of philosophers, historians, linguists, students of literature and Buddhism have been studying Sanskrit and Pali. Peking University runs Hindi and Urdu courses and has also run Sanskrit courses, as have other universities. Its Oriental Languages Department is starting a course on Indian literature. The Chinese Literature Departments in our universities have also decided to run a course on foreign literature, and this will of course include Asian literature, of which Indian literature is so important a part.

The commemoration of Kalidasa this year will certainly lead to much more translation of and research into Indian classical and contemporary literature. And more than that, it will further strengthen the ties of friendship between the peoples of the two countries.

Heine

Feng Chih

Head of the Department of Western Literature, Peking University

HEINRICH HEINE, the great nineteenth century democratic poet of Germany, is no stranger to Chinese readers. For scores of years his poems and selections from his prose have been widely read, particularly by the young. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth, Western literature was being introduced into China. In 1914, before he penned the novels and essays that made him famous, Lu Hsun started to translate Heine's shorter poems. Before and after the May the Fourth Movement—the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal movement of 1919 that ushered in a literary revolution—Kuo Mo-jo, himself a poet, also made some translations of Heine. He says that his own early verse shows the influence of Heine.

From then on, Heine's lyrics were warmly received by progressive young Chinese. Poems from the *Buch der Lieder* were translated, some of them many times, as was *Die Harzreise*. At that time, though, people necessarily had rather a limited view of Heine's genius, for they had only his early lyrics and prose to go on. But even so, they made a great impression on the generation of Chinese young people fighting hard against the constraints, false values and "proprieties" of feudal society. Heine's lyrics and keen, lucid, iconoclastic prose exactly expressed their sentiments. Not until the thirties, particularly after the outbreak of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, did the Chinese people have the chance of gaining a better and deeper appreciation of Heine as his political satires began to make themselves felt in China.

* See "The May Fourth Movement," *People's China*, No. 8, 1954.

People's China



Heinrich Heine

Chinese people, but now he had a profounder understanding of the poet than he had had twenty years earlier. In 1933 he translated a book on Heine by a progressive German critic. In a postscript to his translation he wrote: "Heine has always been regarded by us simply as a writer of love poems. Now we see there was a revolutionary side to his character. German governments have never ceased to persecute literature.... Hitler is but the latest to intensify the persecution. But Heine will live for ever and grow brighter with each passing day...."

In the trying days of the war of resistance, Heine's *Deutschland—ein Wintermärchen* was translated into Chinese in two different versions. That was no accident. *Ein neues Lied, ein besseres Lied*, as our poet sang in this long poem, was exactly what the Chinese poets wanted to sing aloud. There were all too many similarities between the Germany that Heine ridiculed and the Kuomintang China of that time.

After the war of resistance ended, the heroic War of Liberation led by the Chinese Communist Party broke out. In the Kuomintang controlled area, writers were fettered and persecuted. Under such circumstances, satire, roundabout yet sharp, proved a keen weapon in their hands to attack the reactionary government. Satirical poems were recited at meetings, satirical

plays shown on the stage. The best of Heine's political satires were introduced to the Chinese people, and seemed to have been written for the purpose. Many of the hateful things that Heine inveighed against in his *Zeitgedichte* were the selfsame things the Chinese people wanted to sweep away. We can say that Heine's poems actually played their part in the Chinese people's struggle, that his great mind played its part in the cause of liberation of the Chinese people. They set all the more store by him when they learnt of his close friendship with Marx and how his outlook changed, how his ideas crystallized as a result of that friendship.

Since China's liberation it has grown easier for us to enjoy not only our own cultural heritage but that of the whole world. Existing translations of Heine have been revised and improved, and more translations are coming out this year. Through this year's commemoration, I can well believe that Heine's personality and character will make a still clearer, truer and more intimate impact on our minds, and, as Lu Hsun said twenty years ago, "Heine will live for ever and grow brighter with each passing day."

Dostoevsky

Chang Tieh-hsien

Deputy-Librarian of the Peking National Library

IT was in the early twenties of this century that the fame of the great Russian writer Fyodor Dostoevsky began to spread in Chinese literary circles. Through the arduous labour of Chinese translators, the

Chinese reading public of that time had access to many of the famous Russian authors, such as Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Tolstoy and Chekhov.

Ever since Russian literature, and especially the great nineteenth century masterpieces, was introduced to China, Chinese literati and readers in general have cherished a warm and profound love for it. The Chinese love Russian books not only because they admire and appreciate them as they do other famous books of the world, but also for another good reason. As Lu Hsun, who devoted the best part of his life to introducing Russian literature to China, says in his essay "Friendship Between Chinese and Russian Literati": "They enable us to understand a matter of vital importance: that there are in the world two categories of humanities—the oppressors and the oppressed." It may, therefore, be said that the development of modern realistic literature in China has been greatly influenced by the spread of nineteenth century Russian literature.

In 1920, Dostoevsky's short story *The Christmas Tree and the Marriage Feast* was introduced to China through its publication in the *Eastern Monthly*. That was the first translation of Dostoevsky into Chinese. In 1921, Chinese literary circles celebrated the centenary of his birth. On that occasion many more translations of his work appeared and the magazines and newspapers published appreciations.

In one chapter of his *History of Russian Literature* (written in 1921-1922), Chu Chiu-pai, the great revolutionary and eminent translator who had made a profound study of Russian literature, compares Dostoevsky to another great Russian writer, Tolstoy, and said that both writers voice the "deeply hurt mind" of the Russian society of their time.



Fyodor Dostoevsky

In 1925-1926 Lu Hsun and a group of progressive young writers in Peking founded a literary association called Wei Ming Sheh (The No Name Association). Its members put in a great deal of hard work, and in quite a short time succeeded in publishing very many famous Russian and Soviet books, Dostoevsky's *Poor Folk* and *Crime and Punishment* among them. The Chinese translation of *Poor Folk*, which is Dostoevsky's first novel, was completed in 1926, and Lu Hsun wrote an introduction to it.

In the forty years or so since Dostoevsky was first introduced to China, noted Chinese authors such as Lu Hsun, Chu Chiu-pai, Mao Tun, Hu Yu-chih and Cheng Chen-to have written much about him. Keng Chi-chih, Li Chi-yeh, Shao Chuan-lin and other famous translators have translated his works. By 1948, all his important work had been translated into Chinese—not only the two novels mentioned above, but also *Notes from the House of the Dead*, *The Insulted and Injured*, *White Nights*, *The Brothers Karamazov*, *The Idiot*, etc. The fact that many of them have been translated twice shows the great interest Chinese literary circles and the reading public take in Dostoevsky.

Since the birth of New China in 1949, Dostoevsky's works have gone on coming out, including a nine-volume selected works. This year the People's Literature Publishing House is republishing *Poor Folk*, *The Insulted and Injured* and *Notes from the House of the Dead*, in separate editions. Thanks to the light which Soviet critics have thrown on them in recent years, thanks to more searching criticism and analysis, Chinese readers now find themselves better able to discern what is progressive and what is not in Dostoevsky and arrive at a better recognition of the man and what he stood for.

People's China

A Visit to the Liuchia Gorge

Kao Ko-chin

IF you motor westward out of Lanchow, in six hours' time you will find yourself on the site of the big new water control project at Liuchia Gorge on the Yellow River. Like the work being done at Sanmen Gorge about a thousand miles downstream, this is one of the most important engineering jobs in the first stage (1953-67) of China's great plan to harness the Yellow River.

While still some distance from Liuchia Gorge you see red and white flags fluttering on the mountain peaks, turret drills towering from the middle of the river, and countless tents pitched on the slopes. Here teams of surveyors are already at work, scaling the frighteningly steep cliffs, making careful observations of the geological conditions. The boom of blast-charges as caverns are excavated in the rocky mountain sides resound through the gorge and drown even the thunderous roar of the torrent. All this is being done in preparation for building the dam of the Liuchia Gorge Reservoir.

The Liuchia Gorge Project

Although it is to be only a seventh of the Sanmen Gorge project in size, this reservoir will provide a hydroelectric power site of great potentialities. In the 7 1/4 miles from one end of Liuchia Gorge to the other, the water level of the river drops about 75 feet, so the flow is very fast. A hydroelectric power plant built here will have a capacity of 1,000,000 kilowatts and an annual capacity of 5,230 million kwh—comparing favourably with the one projected at Sanmen Gorge.

"See 'Report on the Multiple-Purpose Plan for Permanently Controlling the Yellow River and Exploiting Its Water Resources' in the supplement to *People's China*, No. 17, 1955.



It was already dark when I arrived at the survey office. It was too late to visit the site so I was invited to pass the night at the lodging of Chia Tsung-huai, the team engineer.

Chia was over forty, and wore a pair of steel-rimmed spectacles. He was tired after a long, hard day repairing a drilling rig, but he was still engrossed in reading a new Soviet book on drilling by the dim light of a paraffin lamp as I went to bed.

Accompanying Chia early the next morning, I saw that motor roads and footpaths had already been built along the precipitous mountain sides. Trucks loaded with machinery, coal, food, and sometimes newspapers and books for the project and its workers, snaked up and down in a continuous stream. A state general store and post-office have also been set up on the mountain slope.

On top of a steep cliff about 330 feet high we sat down on two big boulders to rest. Chia remarked that he had been familiar with this place for many years.

Some Memories

In 1946, he told me, the Kuomintang government sent John L. Savage, an

The picture above shows a drilling platform suspended by steel wire over the centre of the river at Liuchia Gorge.

American engineer, to choose a good site for a dam. After a cursory investigation he recommended Yenkuo Gorge, not far from where we sat. The Kuomintang government sent a survey team there. It had twelve members, of whom Chia was one. But although great publicity was given to the project, the team was kept on short commons. Its funds were not sufficient even to hire workers and transport the needed materials.

When Kuomintang inflation got out of hand and prices rocketed, the salaries of the team could no longer even keep them in food. To make matters worse, local merchants refused to accept the paper currency any more, insisting on silver dollars. Chia had a friend who was working in a bank at Lanchow. So on pay day he and his colleagues put their salaries together and he took them to his banker friend to change into coin. There were no motor roads in those parts then. Robbers and bandits were everywhere. The dead bodies of their victims lay on the paths here and there and travelling was a real nightmare.

Once, Chia told me, he had just exchanged a hundred silver dollars and stepped out of the bank when he was waylaid by a policeman who charged him with violating the financial regulations and took all the money. After this he fell into debt, and his wife had to work as a laundress and his son to peddle cigarettes so that the family could make ends meet.

Shortly afterwards Chia's team was dismissed by the Kuomintang, and the Yenkuo Gorge project was consigned to oblivion.

"That's what they called construction in those days," Chia said. "I call it hocus-pocus. It's only now that we know what construction means. We have about six hundred people on the survey job. Soon the plan for our reservoir will be ready. Then, after we've accumulated some experience from the work on Sanmen Gorge, we shall get cracking here too. No Chinese government in the past ever did as much. As to the life of the engineers, take me for

instance. I've just been promoted. My salary is more than I can spend. My daughter is at the university."

"How does Liuchia Gorge compare with Yenkuo as a site?" I asked.

"Liuchia is much better," he said. "The head of water, and therefore the electric power potential, is less at Yenkuo. Besides, Liuchia is an easier place to build at because of its topography. Chinese and Soviet specialists chose it after very careful consideration."

Electricity and No More Flood

As we climbed further up, the path became steeper and there was less vegetation. We had to clamber over rocky ledges to get to the highest point of the Liuchia Gorge. It is here that the Tao River enters the Yellow River. This is one of the four possible sites being surveyed for the Liuchia dam. Near by the place there are rich building materials—pebbles, gravel and timber.

The future hydroelectric station at Liuchia Gorge, Chia explained, will produce enough power to supply the needs of all Kansu Province, at a cost only a thirteenth of a thermal power plant.

The Liuchia Gorge reservoir will not only increase the land irrigated by the Yellow River in Kansu. It will also extend the irrigated area to parts of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region and make it possible to connect the new industrial centres of Lanchow and Paotow by water.

Older people in Kansu can still remember the great flood of 1904 when the river valley below Liuchia Gorge was flooded and half of Lanchow city under water. The reservoir will stop this ever happening again.

Two Young Men

Later in the day, Chia had to go to inspect the machinery in various drilling camps, so I continued my tour alone. In doing so I ran into two very interesting young men.

One of them, Kung Ling-chu, was the messenger who carried letters, documents

and drawings from team headquarters to the sub-groups in the mountains. The other was Yuan Lin, a technician. Kung told me that the team had many students fresh from college whose spirit he greatly admired. Though the rule was to suspend survey work in the winter, he said, the students carried on all through the cold winter months of last year, getting up at dawn every morning to climb up and down the mountains.

The best-known sub-group, he said, was composed of women and led by Chen Hsiu-ti. Since starting work on the topographical survey last December, they had exceeded their set task three months running. Vying with their male colleagues on one occasion they scaled several peaks and finally arrived at the mouth of the Tao River. One place where they worked was on top of a steep precipice which could only be reached by a route so steep that the local people said it was fit only for goats. Chen Hsiu-ti as group leader traversed it first and set up the instruments. Then she helped the others across one by one. They toiled there for a whole day in freezing weather, stamping their feet and breathing on their hands to keep warm. Returning to their base at dusk they were so happy that they sang all the way.

Young Kung talked on and on about the others but never said anything about himself. It was Yuan who told me of Kung's pluck.

One afternoon, he said, the leader of the survey team gave Kung some important letters and drawings to take to a mobile group that had gone far forward. Kung travelled a whole day without meeting a soul or finding the groups. He spent the night in an old abandoned temple, and then continued his search. By this time he had run short of provisions and had to pick herbs and berries for food. Finally, at dusk the second day, he learnt that the group had crossed to the far side of the river. There were no ferry boats, so he pushed the documents he was carrying into an empty water flask and swam the swift-

flowing, icy-cold river. Eventually he found the group and delivered the papers.

For this and for his sincere and responsible attitude to work at all times Kung's fellow workers elected him to attend the National Conference of Young Builders of Socialism at Peking.

Leaving the two young men, I walked on till I heard a work song:

Brothers, yo ay yo!
Stop up your work, yo hey yo!
Let us change China's sorrow, yo ay yo!
Into China's joy, yo hey yo! . . .

The Peasant Workers

It was being sung by local peasants making a road. I remembered that Chia had told me that three hundred of them had formed a volunteer unit to help with various jobs on the site. They worked eight hours a day and received rather more than they would get in the farming co-operatives thereabouts.

I asked one of the peasants, 21-year-old Tsui Yun-bo why he had chosen to work here. He answered: "Well, the pay was better. But I didn't only come for the pay." Then he told me about his cottage.

If it rained, water from the mountains brought a flood. If it didn't, there was drought. Before liberation, deaths from starvation were frequent. But during the last few years they had worked out ways of preventing drought and flood. As a result harvests had somewhat improved. The people had also received subsidies from the government. That had saved them from starvation. But a radical solution of their problem could only come from the harnessing of the Yellow River. So when Tsui got news that the government was building a reservoir at Liuchia Gorge, not only to stop drought and floods but also to supply power for local needs, he enrolled for work there at once.

Just before I left Liuchia Gorge the workers had taken a "socialist pledge" to complete the preliminary work three months ahead of schedule. The government made two and a half times as much more money available for work this year, and trebled the number of surveyors.



Ssuma Chien: Great Ancient Historian

Hou Wai-lu

SSSUMA CHIEN (145-790 B.C.) was one of the greatest historians of ancient China. He was also one of its towering literary figures. Extending the achievements of previous scholars, he wrote the *Shih Chi* (Historical Records), popular in style and deep-going in their philosophy, which gave guidance to the Chinese people of his own and subsequent generations.

Throughout the 2,000 years since they were written, the fine, creative works of Ssuma Chien have been acclaimed by enlightened Chinese scholars. They have remained an ever-fresh spring. Lu Hsun, the outstanding champion of China's modern revolutionary literature, called the *Shih Chi* a "masterpiece of historical writing."

The "Shih Chi"

Ssuma Chien's wise and courageous exposure of the internal conflicts of Chinese feudal society made his works immortal. But these same features exposed him to attack from reactionaries. Time and again, scholars of the feudal classical school sniffed danger in his writings, slandering the *Shih Chi* as "calumny," or distorting the views he expressed and branding them heretical. One may say that the attitude towards Ssuma Chien's work has served as a touchstone in twenty centuries of ideological struggle in China.

The author is the Vice-Director of the Second Institute of History, Chinese Academy of Sciences.

The *Shih Chi*, also known as the *Tai Shih Kung Shu* (Book of the Court Astronomer and Archivist), is the first of China's twenty-four dynastic histories.* It is the first general history of China ever written. It covers the three-thousand-year period from the legendary first ruler of the Han (Chinese) people, Huang Ti, to the reign of the emperor Wu Ti (157-87 B.C.) of the Han dynasty. Altogether it includes 130 essays (526,500 Chinese characters) divided into five sections:

Royal Houses (political history) — 12 essays;

Tables (chronicles of events) — 10 essays;

Special Topics (history of social systems) — 8 essays;

Noble Families (historical-biographical) — 30 essays;

Biographies (biographical - philosophical) — 70 essays.

Using these five avenues of approach, Ssuma Chien created the *chi chuan ti* (chronological-biographical style) adopted by many later historians.

In its method, the *Shih Chi* may justly be said to be the most complete and thorough history written anywhere in the world at that time. Not only was the

*The Twenty-four Dynastic Histories (*Erh Shih Su Shih*) cover events in China from the earliest times to the end of the Ming dynasty (1368-1644).

author the first to undertake the titanic task of encompassing 3,000 years in China in a single work; his purpose was also to give a true picture of Chinese society from the beginning of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.) to his own day, a thing none of his contemporaries dared to do.

Ssuma Chien's approach to his material was realistic and scientific. The development of society, the conditions under which the people lived, the character of members of various social classes, trends in the realm of thought — none of these escaped his pen. The lively, versatile style in which he described them has been a model for subsequent Chinese writers. In his *Outlines of Chinese Literature*, Lu Hsun called the *Shih Chi* "the unrhymed *Li Sao*," thus comparing it to the majestic poetic creation of Chu Yuan, a great poet of ancient China.*

Ssuma Chien's Thinking

It is not my purpose in this article fully to analyse and evaluate the *Shih Chi*. What I would like to do is to give my personal views on its popular character and the philosophic principles that underlie it.

Ssuma Chien was one of the greatest thinkers of old China. His world-view was plainly one of naive materialism. This we may ascribe to his connection with science: he knew something of astronomy (his father had been court astronomer and archivist) and helped in the revision of the Chinese calendar under the emperor Wu Ti. The staunchness of his materialism may be seen from his relentless battle against superstition, particularly the theories of the *yin-yang* (male and female principles) and *wu hsing* (five elements) that were then rampant. "The astrological books," wrote Ssuma Chien, "deal with omens and prognostications; they are therefore heretical." One of his works, the *Tien Kuan Shu* (Book on Astronomy), was written specially to discredit these theories.

*See "The Works of Chu Yuan," *People's China*, No. 14, 1953.

In his preface to the *Shih Chi*, Ssuma Chien again asserted his purely naive materialist conception of natural phenomena as opposed to supernatural ideas:

Commandments are deduced from the motion of the sun and moon, the four seasons, the eight positions of the trigrams, the 12 months and 24 solar terms. To co-ordinate one's actions with these commandments is said to mean prosperity, and not to do so to bring misfortune. But I say no. . . . Plants sprout in the spring, grow in the summer, mature in the autumn and fade in winter. This is a natural law without which there can be no universal order.

This passage is a sharp refutation of the superstitious belief in signs and omens, and in a connection between natural phenomena and human fate and action.

From the same critical standpoint, Ssuma Chien made a logical analysis of many ancient Chinese classics and legends. "What the Book of History says about the nine provinces with their mountains and rivers is fairly reliable," he declared. "But I can put no trust in what the *Yu Pen Chi* and *Shan Hai Ching* say about monsters." Following in the footsteps of Hsun Kuang (a philosopher of the third century B.C.), he ridiculed many yarns which the unscrupulous Han dynasty literati passed off as truth, as well as many legends concerning the remote past. "Scholars have long talked about the Five Emperors," he said, "but the Book of History begins only with Emperor Yao. The philosophers all like to talk about Huang Ti (the Yellow Emperor), but their language is too high-flown and a man of cultivated mind will doubt what they say."

In the biography of Po Yi, the historian severely criticized the theory of divine

*The *Yu Pen Chi* was the legendary biography of the emperor Yu, no copy of which has survived. The *Shan Hai Ching* (Mountain and Sea Classic) was one of the earliest Chinese geographies, containing many myths and legends.

*The names of the Five Emperors, legendary rulers of ancient China, were differently given by different authors. Ssuma Chien gave them as: Huang Ti, Chuan Hsu, Ti Ku, Yao, and Shun.

retribution. History, he argued, tells of many good men dying young or starving to death. Was this the way "heaven recompensed the good"? And why did bad men, rascals and murderers live to a ripe old age? Coming to his own time, Ssuma Chien pointed out that men notorious for all manner of crimes lived prosperous and happy lives, leaving fortunes to their children, while disaster often fell on the good, prudent and well-behaved. "I am puzzled," he said of these matters. "Shall we call this the Law of Heaven or not?" Here Ssuma Chien made a direct attack on the supernaturalism prevailing at his time.

Nor did this great thinker believe in any "mystery" of death. "Life dies"—he quoted his astronomer father—"when the spirit is separated from matter. What is separated cannot be reunited and what has died cannot live again." —Here again we see that he took the standpoint of ancient or naive materialism in natural science.

Philosophy of History

Ssuma Chien never stated his philosophy of history, but this does not mean that there is no unifying idea in his works. An analysis of the *Shih Chi* shows that this general idea, sometimes veiled but implicit in his presentation of social development and personages of different classes, was again naive materialism.

It is a fact that those ancients who had a materialist outlook on the world of nature very often fell into the mire of idealism in their view of social phenomena. Ssuma Chien himself cannot be isolated from the environment of his time, and his philosophy of history is not free from idealist elements. In the main, however, his social philosophy was popular and predominantly materialist. To illustrate this, let us look at a passage from the *Biographies of Merchants* dealing with the history of production:

Grain is produced by peasants; under-ground wealth is extracted by miners; tools and utensils are made by craftsmen; goods are sold by merchants. They do these things without government pressure and without

being taught. Everyone strains mind and muscle to get what he wants. Cheap things gradually become dear; dear things gradually become cheap. The people are happy in what they do and diligent in their work. Social life flows on spontaneously and incessantly, like water. You don't have to ask people to do anything, yet they will do it. You don't have to ask them to produce anything, yet they will produce. Is not all this a result of the Way, a proof of the law of Nature?

Obviously, Ssuma Chien regarded the process of material production as a natural phenomenon. He saw it as working according to a law, and like all natural phenomena, as capable of being studied. He did not believe, as idealists do, that it was determined by man's will, political authority or education. In a scholar who lived more than 2,000 years ago, such a clear-minded analysis of social development is remarkable.

Exposure of Feudal Rule

As already noted, Ssuma Chien saw the peasants, miners, craftsmen and merchants as contributors to social wealth. These four kinds of men, he said, "are the suppliers of the people's food and clothing." This is why, in writing of ordinary people, he often gave them an exalted position. He put *Pai Kuei*, a simple merchant, on the same level as great statesmen and commanders.

Enslavement of some men by others, in Ssuma Chien's eyes, was a necessary product of the unequal distribution of wealth. "You are an abject inferior to a man who is ten times richer than you," he said. "You are awed by a man who is a hundred times richer; a menial to the man a thousand times richer; a slave to the man ten thousand times richer." This is quite a different view from that of the feudalists, who considered poverty and wealth to have been preordained by divine providence.

So also with law, which Ssuma Chien boldly proclaimed to be a tool the rulers used to govern the people. Extremely biting is his account of how Shusun Tung, a Confucian scholar, drew up a code of etiquette for the emperor Kao Tsu (247-195 B.C.), founder of the Han dynasty. First

Ssuma Chien and His Times

Ssuma Chien was born in Hancheng County, Shensi Province and lived at the height of the Han dynasty, when China was a powerful nation, advanced in its economy and culture. In politics, the principle of absolute monarchy was being strengthened. In the sphere of ideas, a sharp struggle was taking place. The ruling class put Confucianism in a supreme position and ignored the development of other schools of thought. But progressive scholars of the time were unwilling to swallow the revival of ancient tradition. The historical work of Ssuma Chien was a supreme example of their work.

When Ssuma Chien was a child, his father, Ssuma Tan, went to Changan (the modern Sian, then the capital of the country) to become the court astronomer and archivist. The boy was tutored by Tung Chung-shu and Kung An-kuo, both famous scholars. Under his father's influence, he developed a profound interest in history. At twenty, he set out to visit places of historical interest and gather information of past events. He travelled through the modern provinces of Honan, Hunan, Chekiang, Kiangsu and Shantung.

Becoming a court chamberlain before he was thirty, Ssuma Chien later succeeded to his father's post. In his capacity of archivist, he accompanied the emperor Wu Ti (140-87 B.C.) on tours round the country, which included parts of the present

Shensi, Kansu, Hopei, Anhwei, Hupeh and Shantung Provinces, as well as Inner Mongolia. He participated in various tasks and events such as the damming of a breach on the Yellow River dyke, which was personally supervised by the emperor, military manoeuvres outside the Great Wall, and the ceremony of sacrifice to heaven and earth held on top of Mt. Taishan in Shantung. As an envoy to the national minority peoples of the south-west, he got as far as the western part of what is now Yunnan. Wide travel gave him a profound understanding of China's geography, economy, history and varied peoples.

Ssuma Chien's father had hoped to write a new history of China, but was never able to accomplish his ambition. Dying, he asked his son to carry on the work. This was precisely what Ssuma Chien himself wanted to do. At the age of forty-one, he began his titanic labour on the *Shih Chi*.

While writing the history, Ssuma Chien offended the emperor by too straightforward remonstrance. He was imprisoned and suffered the cruel punishment of castration. But because his main aim in life was to finish his work, he stood the ordeal with the spirit of a martyr. He continued to write after he was released from prison. At the age of fifty-two, he completed his life's work. The date of his death, it is believed, was around 90 B.C.

the author of the code is described as a thorough scoundrel and cringing time-server. Then an account is given of the comically pompous court ceremony this rascal arranged, and how the pleased emperor exclaimed, "Ah, now I know what imperial dignity is!" The story ends with the official preferment of Shusun Tung and his cronies, who were also rewarded with bounties. In telling of the origin of the court etiquette of the Han dynasty in this way, Ssuma Chien's intention was to show what humbug it was.

Another figure Ssuma Chien described was Chang Tang, a scholar who drew up

a code of law for the emperor Wu Ti. Chang Tang was clever and could twist any saying of Confucius to provide a basis for the kind of laws the emperor required—despotic laws serving the interests of the feudal ruling class. Ssuma Chien despised such men. Though writing of current matters, he bravely asserted that even in Chang Tang's lifetime the people could no longer live normally and showed signs of revolt. "After Chang Tang's death," he said, "no one ever thought of him again."

Thus the historian pointed out the hypocritical substance of feudal legislation,

which robbed the people in the sacred name of law.

The unscrupulous acts of the ruling class were exposed in the Book of Finance and the book of Biographies of Ruthless Officials. Here financial and ruthless officers were sharply characterized, and the conflict between the rulers and the ruled in feudal society was brought out with great force. These accounts exemplify the truth pointed out by Engels: that good literature can give a richer, more varied picture of society than sociological, statistical or juridical works.

In the Book of Finance, the author shows how the emperor, as the biggest landlord, confiscated the wealth, land and slaves of his subjects. It tells in detail how he ruined hitherto well-to-do families, and how special privileges, conferred on a small number of despotic aristocrats, plunged the peasants into misery.

In the Biographies of Ruthless Officials the historian points out that the peasants were driven to revolt by their extortions, that the revolts were crushed in one place only to break out in others, and that the officials "concealed the true state of affairs from each other so as to evade the law."

Sympathy for the People

The "ethics" of rich and powerful men, Ssuma Chien declared, are designed to facilitate and justify the seizure of power and wealth. To make the point, he quoted the following proverbs:

The common people say: "I don't know what virtue is; but whoever possesses wealth is virtuous."

He who steals a sickle is a thief; he who steals a nation is a prince. Virtue resides in princely mansions.

Quite different was his estimation of the ethics of the oppressed and the ruled, which he held in high regard. Among Ssuma Chien's biographies are those of many chivalrous figures of his time, men who looked upon the despotic landlords as enemies. Chu Chia, for instance, liked to "aid the unfortunate and give precedence to the poor." Of the lowly persons whose lives he recorded, Ssuma Chien wrote:

"They always keep their word and never stop in the middle in what they do. . . . They go to the aid of those in distress, giving no thought to their own safety. Even when they have saved others from death, they are not proud, but are ashamed to vaunt their merit."

In the biographies, the activities of Chen Sheh, a peasant who led an uprising against the Chin dynasty (221-207 B.C.), are compared in merit to the writing of the *Chun Chiu* (Spring and Autumn Annals) by Confucius, and the founding of the Shang (sixteenth-eleventh century B.C.) and Chou (eleventh century-403 B.C.) dynasties by the sage kings Tang and Wu. Despite his humble origin, Chen Sheh's biography is placed among those of the "noble families," a very remarkable thing in Chinese historiography. It is interesting to compare the respect shown to Chen Sheh with the acrid contempt for the emperor Kao Tsu, founder of the Han house, who though placed in the "Royal Houses" is called a "swashbuckler."

The amount of attention Ssuma Chien gave to the life of the commonality showed that, to him, the life of the people was the main subject of historical study. This was without precedent.

Finally Ssuma Chien took a scientific approach to the official ideology of his time. The Han emperors had decreed Confucianism to be the only orthodox school of thought for intellectuals. They hoped, by this means, to eliminate all other schools and cement their power over the whole nation. Ssuma Chien opposed this trend. In his writings, he placed all schools of philosophy on the same footing with the Confucian "Six Classics." In this too he was unique among the scholars of his day.

All these things explain why we hold Ssuma Chien in such high regard. In 1955, the Chinese people celebrated the 2,100th anniversary of the birth of this creative genius in the realms of history and literature. Our historians and writers have decided to carry out a comprehensive study of his works, so as to carry forward our great heritage from the past.

Cultural Life

Kwangtung Opera in Peking

The touring Kwangtung Opera Company has been delighting Peking audiences with its performances this past month.

Kwangtung opera and Peking opera actually stem from the same source. Even today they have the same basic traditional melodies, but Kwangtung opera has developed along its own specific lines. It has, for instance, discarded the falsetto so characteristic of Peking opera and uses the natural voice for singing. It does not, however, use "natural," every-day speech for dialogue or recitative but a well marked rhythmic structure that emphasizes the musical tones of Chinese speech.

The singing parts of Peking opera are usually so composed that each line has either seven or ten syllables or characters and in singing a pause is made after the second, fourth and seventh syllables in the case of the seven character line, and after the third, sixth and tenth syllables

in the ten character line. Kwangtung opera long ago discarded these strict rules. Long and short sentences are used freely according to the expressive demands of the theme.

Its music too has assimilated many local southern airs, but these have been welded into an organic whole that has its own specific style. Percussion instruments play a bigger role in the accompaniment than in Peking opera and, in combination with the usual strings and wood-wind, give Kwangtung opera a distinctive orchestral individuality.

The Kwangtung Company presented nine items in Peking, but *Searching the Academy* was far and away the most popular piece. This is a dramatic tribute to those upright men who refuse to bow to evil no matter what its position and power. Hsieh Pao, dean of an academy, is such a man. His student, Chang Yi-min, finding a kite on a mountainside, writes a poem on it before he accidentally meets Tsui Lien, a maid of the local garrison commander, who is looking for the lost kite. This leads to trouble. Tsui Lien returns home with the kite and gets a beating from her master who, seeing the poem, accuses her of disgracing the family by having a secret love affair with some stranger. He decides to get rid of her by sending her to be the concubine of a local high official. But Tsui Lien is a girl of spirit. Disguised as a boy she runs away. Hsieh Pao, enemy of all injus-

tice, meets her on the road and hides her in the academy. When the garrison commander comes to ransack the place he helps her and Chang Yi-min to escape.

The two leading roles are performed by Ma Shih-tseng and Hung Hsien Nu, the noted actor and actress who recently returned to Canton from Hong-kong. Ma Shih-tseng in the part of Hsieh Pao gives an attractive characterization of an elderly scholar, witty, humorous, kind, fearless, strict with himself but mild in his judgments of others. Hung Hsien Nu is a most appealing Tsui Lien. Her voice is extremely pleasant and her enunciation refreshingly clear. All the supporting roles are thoughtfully performed and the whole production shows imaginative and careful staging.

A colour film of the opera will be made after its run in Peking.

A Palace to Play in

The Shanghai Children's Palace founded by Mme. Soong Ching Ling is a second home for two thousand and more youngsters who are regular members of its scores of club groups.

Halls, studios and gardens of this huge, creamy-white building are fitted out for dozens of kinds of arts, crafts and hobbies that include dancing and singing, painting, sculpture and photography, embroidery, radio and electrical engineering, botany, zoology. The children have a theatre troupe and puppet show group. The palace gives excellent opportunities for every group to link its work with the practical world outside. The biology group has sprayed its home-made insecticide in the cotton fields of a suburban farm co-op; the "Little Companions" art troupe has a thousand members with a choir, a band of accordion players and a drama troupe. They put on



Ma Shih-tseng (right) as Hsieh Pao in the Kwangtung opera "Searching the Academy"

special shows for Shanghai's workers, fellow members of the palace, parents and friends. Teachers from vocational schools, factory technicians, artists, university students and office workers have been enlisted to guide these various activities. Friendly air pilots come to lecture to the model plane makers on the principles of flying and take them to see real planes at the aerodrome. Shipyard workers invite the model shipbuilders to the launching of their new ships. The radio group has useful friends at the broadcasting station.

The palace also organizes grand evening parties and bonfire get-togethers which attract thousands of children. Over the past three years more than a million children have come to palace shows and parties. Outstanding workers, eminent scientists, writers and artists are often guests of honour at such gatherings.

The palace has a library of 50,000 books and a reading room with a hundred well-used seats. There are also special attractions like the pathway hidden in the thickets of the garden called "Road of the Brave," that confronts the adventurous traveller with rope ladders to be climbed, water jumps, steep ridges. There are a mass of toys in the playrooms and organized and unorganized games.

The children of the palace maintain a lively correspondence with the children of other countries: the U.S.S.R., German

Democratic Republic, Yugoslavia, Japan and elsewhere. Not long ago they received a whole crate of gifts from the Young Pioneer's Palace in Moscow. This included a lathe, an engine, many kinds of tools, radio equipment and cameras.

The children themselves run the palace with the minimum of grown-up help. The management committee of fifty is elected by the members. They organize the evening parties, keep order in the rooms, the older ones helping the smaller. The palace wall-newspaper is run by their own editorial committee and has special correspondents in more than a hundred city schools.

Exhibitions in Shanghai

Several exhibitions are on in Shanghai. The show of Finnish Graphic Art which has just ended at the Sino-Soviet Friendship Hall, has given place to the exhibition of Shanghai model workers' innovations and inventions. These fill several of the huge halls. There are big lathes that have been remodelled to perform complicated new operations, working models showing how an even flow of work is organized on building sites employing thousands of men and, at the other extreme, simple little time-saving gadgets such as a sort of over-size thatching needle which gives a new, modern speed to this ancient craft.

This exhibition typifies the spirit of initiative in New China

that has turned Shanghai into the city it is. It is a first-rate education for the general public in the industrial processes that are becoming ever more important in the life of the country.

The People's Park has a well arranged permanent exhibition of ancient and contemporary arts and crafts. Its collection of bronzes from the Shang, Chou and Warring States periods is extremely rich and well chosen. Several of the most unique exhibits are recent finds or have been presented to the state by private collectors since liberation. The collection is growing rapidly and is beginning to outgrow its temporary, remodelled headquarters—the former buffets, salons and vestibules of the Shanghai race-course grandstand.

Part of the ground floor of the grandstand is given over to an exhibition of Kiangsu folk art that is a delight to the eye: basket work, painted umbrellas and fans, stone and wood carving and wood inlay, modelled clay figures, paper cuts, embroideries and batik work, folk weaves and brocades. There is also a trade fair of typical Shanghai exports in the arcades of the former Cathay Hotel, useful and sumptuous products ranging from exquisite fabrics to heavy machinery, precision instruments and a great variety of food products.

Famed Nanjing Road with its busy and enterprising shops is also an exhibition of a kind—a show-case of fine products from many parts of China. The First State Department Store devotes a whole floor to a dress exhibition. From a first section showing the colourful costumes of the last century you pass on to a rich selection of well-styled women's and children's wear. Here are also traditional and new fabrics and accessories which have been subtly adapted to modern ways of life by Shanghai's dressmakers.

International WHAT THE PAPERS SAY

U.S. Violates Korean Armistice Agreement

An editorial in the *People's Daily* of June 3 gave a sharp warning that the unilateral action taken by the United States to force the Neutral Nations Inspection Teams to withdraw from ports of entry in South Korea was a serious breach of the Korean Armistice Agreement. The American representative to the Korean Military Armistice Commission made this demand on May 31, after the governments of the United States and other countries in the United Nations Command side had flatly turned down a proposal made by the Chinese and Korean Governments to call a conference of the nations concerned to negotiate the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and the peaceful unification of the country.

"The motive of this American move," says the editorial, "is clear—to give themselves unlimited freedom to build up and arm the Syngman Rhee troops on a large scale," in flagrant contravention of the Korean Armistice Agreement. During his recent visit to Seoul, Walter S. Robertson, U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defence, had openly admitted that Washington was considering a proposal to supply the South Korean troops with "modern" military equipment.

"But what we cannot understand," continues the editorial, "is the fact that the other governments on the United Nations Command side should so willingly fall in with this U.S. policy." It was clear that the overwhelming majority of them had no wish to see the Armistice Agreement

violated. They might be under the illusion that once the Syngman Rhee troops were armed to the teeth, they could leave Korea to itself. If that was the case, they were living in a fools' paradise: the more Rhee's troops were armed, the more capable he was of bluffing, the harder this gambler would try to violate the Armistice Agreement.

The editorial recalled numerous violations of the Armistice Agreement by the American side. They had introduced large quantities of military equipment into South Korea to arm the Syngman Rhee troops. Far from keeping this dark, the United States government and Syngman Rhee had actually boasted about the growing strength of the South Korean

army. That was why the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission and its teams had had their work obstructed. There had been many mentions of U.S. violation of the inspection provisions of Armistice Agreement in reports of the Neutral Nations Commission, signed by its Czechoslovak, Polish, Swedish and Swiss members. Moreover, with the connivance of the United States government, Syngman Rhee and his clique had hurled all sorts of insults at personnel of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission, and even resorted to physical violence.

This unilateral move on the part of the United States government could, therefore, serve only to expose their true intention once again—to create tension in the world. As for the Chinese people, said the paper, they will continue to stand firm with the Korean people and uphold the Armistice Agreement. They will oppose any violation of it and continue searching for ways of negotiating the peaceful unification of Korea.

Closer Relations Between China and Egypt

On May 16 Egypt recognized the People's Republic of China and withdrew its recognition of Chiang Kai-shek. This move was warmly welcomed by the Chinese Foreign Ministry. Both countries decided to exchange ambassadors, and Mr. Nasser, the Egyptian Prime Minister, has accepted a government invitation to visit China. An Egyptian military delegation has also accepted our invitation for a visit.

Chinese public opinion has been quick to appreciate and welcome the rapid development of friendly relations between China and

Egypt. As the editorial in the May 19 issue of the *People's Daily* pointed out, there is a firm common basis for friendly relations between them. This improvement of relations is in complete accord with the desires and interests of both peoples. Both countries suffered in the past from foreign enslavement. Now they are rid of the fetters of colonialism and striving to put their nations on their feet and develop independent economies of their own. Both countries seek peace; both want to be friends and to co-operate with the peoples of all lands.

People's China

June 16, 1956

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After mentioning the tremendous progress made in friendly co-operation, cultural and trade intercourse between the two countries since the Bandung Conference, the editorial goes on to say: "The significance and influence of Sino-Egyptian friendship extends far beyond their boundaries. It marks the increasing unity between China and the Arab states and the forging of closer ties between Asia and Africa. This is the result of conscientious efforts by China and Egypt to carry out the resolutions of the Asian-African Conference. The progress of Sino-Egyptian relations will have its effect over the length and breadth of Asia and Africa and help to assure peace."

But public opinion was not so pleased about the way the United States government took the news of Egypt's recognition of China. The *People's Daily* of May 26 rightly said in a commentary that both Egypt and China were sovereign states, and if they both wanted to establish diplomatic relations, what had that to do with the U.S. government? Why should the affairs of Egypt and China be "approved" by the United States? Friendly co-

operation between China and Egypt did not need the sanction of the White House, any more than did their independence and liberty.

The United States, said the commentary, was trying a bit of blackmail, and it was directed not only against Egypt but against the other Arab countries as well. U.S. envoys to the Middle East had recently received orders to let it be known that the U.S. would show its displeasure with any country which followed Egypt in recognizing China.

There were in the United States, said the commentary, still people who refused to recognize facts and persisted in saying that China didn't exist. If they wanted to bury their heads in the sand like ostriches, that was up to them. But to try to force others to adopt the same policy was a different matter. They had apparently forgotten that the days when everybody had to listen to what the imperialist powers said were over. If the Bandung Conference meant anything it meant that the countries of Asia and Africa were no longer going to tolerate imperialist intervention in their own affairs.

Soviet-French Talks

The Chinese papers considered the results of the Soviet-French talks, coming hard behind the talks between the Soviet Union and Britain, another victory for peaceful co-existence.

The May 21 Tientsin *Te Kung Pao* editorial said: "Both the Soviet Union and France are world powers. They have both declared that peaceful co-existence is imperative. This is of course a big event. If all the great powers follow suit in word and deed, the dread of war could

be reduced or even removed, and mankind would live more happily."

China Youth of May 22 said: "The results of the talks are tremendously important. The Soviet Union, China, Britain and France, four of the five great powers, have all now gone on record for peaceful co-existence. That proves that the tide of peaceful co-existence is flowing strongly. If the U.S. sticks to its policy of war, it will do so alone."

An editorial in the *People's Daily* of May 21 also thought highly of the results of the Soviet-French talks.

"Good and normal relations between the Soviet Union and France," it said, "are not only important to those two countries but to the whole world. We know that more than once friendly co-operation between the Soviet Union and France has been an important factor in safeguarding the security and peace of Europe."

"The leaders of the Soviet and French Governments have exchanged views on many important current international questions, and on some of them have come to share the same views. For instance, the declaration by the two governments that they support efforts to ease the situation in the Middle and Near East and South-east Asia must have an important bearing on the achievement of peace there."

The paper went on to welcome the two governments' expressed determination to work for an agreement on disarmament. The French Government had said that the recent Soviet decision to reduce its armed forces was beneficial to the disarmament talks. That view would make it harder for those who opposed disarmament, and tried to belittle the significance of the Soviet move to get away with obstruction.

In conclusion, said the paper, "The talks were a success because of the Soviet Union's steadfast policy of peace and the French Government's desire to ease international tension. The results were positive proof that by acting in accordance with her national interests, France could win the sympathy, praise and support of public opinion, and make her proper contribution to the easing of international tension and the consolidation of world peace."



IN THE NEWS

By Plane to Lhasa

On May 26 the first transport plane from Peking landed safely on an airfield near Lhasa. Experience gained on the flight is now being studied, and a regular civil airline between the two cities will shortly start. In the past communications between the Tibetan plateau and the rest of China were poor in the extreme—mainly a matter of devious post routes and footpaths. Even now that the Sikkim-Tibet and Chinghai-Tibet roads are open, journeys may still take weeks. Now, by air, Lhasa and Peking are only a day apart.

New Engineering Plants in Hand

On May 15 and May 21 work started on two new engineering factories, the first in Chengtu and the second in Peking. The Chengtu factory is to turn out precision measuring instruments and cutting tools, and will be even bigger than the one at Harbin, completed in 1954. Most of the equipment will be Chinese made, and the place should be ready to go into production inside eighteen months. The Peking factory will concentrate on milling machines of various types. The greater part of its machinery is also to be made in China.

Big Coal-field in Kansu

Geologists have now confirmed the existence in Kansu, in north-

west China, of vast deposits of coal and oil shale—probably two hundred million tons all told. The coal is eminently suitable for industrial use, and the average thickness of the seams is 66 feet. Through the coal-field run two seams of rich oil-bearing shale up to 33 feet thick. Prospectors are now busy collecting fuller data.

Hall of Ancient Records

The four-hundred-year-old Hall of Ancient Records in Peking is to be overhauled and rearranged. Already one of the world's most ancient archives, from now on it will be an even more precious repository. It was the repository of the imperial records of two dynasties, Ming and Ching, royal holographs, confidential biographies of the emperors, royal edicts, secret documents of many kinds, and duplicate copies of the *Yang Lo Encyclopedia*. Strict attention has been paid to ventilation and drainage so as to prevent damage to the records.

In Honour of Buddha

On May 24 Peking Buddhists honoured the 2500th anniversary of Buddha's attainment of Nirvana at Sutra-chanting services. This ended the week's celebrations. Monks gathered in the many Buddhist temples, lamaseries and shrines of the city which had been decorated with multi-coloured banners and lit by lamps and chandeliers. Incense was

Statement on China's Nansha Islands

On May 29 a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement on the Nansha Islands—Taiping, Nanwei and other small islands in the South China Sea—to which the Philippines government has been laying claim. It says that these islands have always been Chinese. The People's Republic of China has indisputable, legitimate sovereignty over these islands. As far back as August 15, 1951 Chou En-lai, as Foreign Minister of the Chinese People's Republic, making a statement on the draft peace treaty between Britain, the United States and Japan and the San Francisco Conference, said: "Just like the entire Nansha, Chongsha and Tungsha Islands, the Sisha (Prata) Islands and Nanwei (Spratly) Island have always been China's territory. Although they had been occupied by Japan for some time during the war of aggression waged by Japanese imperialism, they were all taken over by the then Chinese Government following Japan's surrender." The pretext which the Philippines government advances to justify its attempt to invade and occupy the Nanshas is utterly untenable. "Encroachment on China's legitimate sovereignty over the Nansha Islands by any country under whatever pretext and by whatever means," the statement concludes, "will not be tolerated."

burned, the Diamond Sutra recited, and offerings made. At 11 a.m., observing the traditional rites, the monks took the mid-day meal. Nuns, Tibetan and Mongolian lamas and the laity also took part in the various services. At the same time a delegation of Chinese Buddhists was taking part in similar celebrations in Rangoon.

Kuomintang Soldiers Cross Over

Twenty-five soldiers who belonged to one of the pockets of Kuomintang troops who have been lurking in Burma ever since liberation slipped back into China across the Yunnan border on May 8. They deserted from the 37th Regiment of the 13th Division, and had been a month making their way from Maungda to the border. Nevertheless they contrived to bring with them a machine gun, two carbines, 20 rifles, three grenades and 1,800 rounds of ammunition. On arrival they received a warm welcome from the local authorities and a P.L.A. unit stationed there and the reward to which they were entitled under the People's Government regulations.

Fashion Shows

The past two or three months have seen fashion shows in Peking, Shanghai and elsewhere. The Peking show ran for seven weeks and drew 300,000 people, while the Shanghai show in a seven-week run drew 700,000. Artists and dress-designers have contrived to produce much in the way of striking and beautiful models in gowns, blouses, costumes, skirts, children's clothes, and so on, both in Chinese and Western styles. A retail shop opened near the Peking show sold some 60,000 yards of material, and sales of prints have risen generally. Bright summery cloth is more and more in evidence both in town and country.

More Fish for Export

This year China's exports of fish and other aquatic products will be half as much again as last year. Exports to the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies will more than double. New additions among the 110 export lines include frozen and salted prawns and fish and many types of dried fish. Last year China produced 2,400,000 tons of aquatic products, 60 per cent higher than the highest pre-liberation figure. A big new Shanghai fish-processing factory which started up in May is turning out 25 tons of filleted fish a day.

German poet Heine and the Russian novelist Dostoevsky.

First trial flight on the new Peking-Lhasa airline.

May 29 — Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs declares that China's legitimate sovereignty over the Nansha Islands must not be violated by any country on any pretext or in any way.

May 30 — A joint communique on establishment of diplomatic relations and exchange of ambassadors is issued by the governments of China and Egypt.

LETTERS

A World of Wonders

"A world of wonders"—a member of our Kibutz (collective settlement) expressed his admiration in this sentence when I told him in a "nutshell" the contents of "The Socialist Transformation of Agriculture in China." (*People's China*, No. 6, 1956.)

Of course, we know, there are no wonders. There are objective, specific conditions, which a Marxist-Leninist party analyses in order to take a correct line to change reality... but how much hard work of days and nights hide behind these simple "dry" words.

I support the wish of Mr. N. Nayar (India) to allot a few pages for teaching the Chinese language.

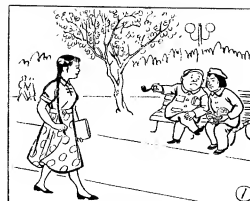
S. Shoor
Kibutz Shonrat, Israel

CHRONICLE OF EVENTS

May 17 — Ministry of Foreign Affairs issues a statement warmly welcoming the Egyptian Government's announcement, on May 16, that it had recognized the People's Republic of China.

May 18 — The China Committee for the Promotion of International Trade agrees to a Japanese proposal for a one-year extension (starting May 4, 1956) of the third Sino-Japanese Trade Agreement signed in Tokyo on May 4, 1955.

May 23 — Tidal dam at Sheyang in Kiangsu Province completed. This is one of the main projects in the River Huai control project. May 26 — Peking holds commemoration meeting in honour of the Indian poet Kalidasa, the



Too gaudy!



Brazen!



!!!

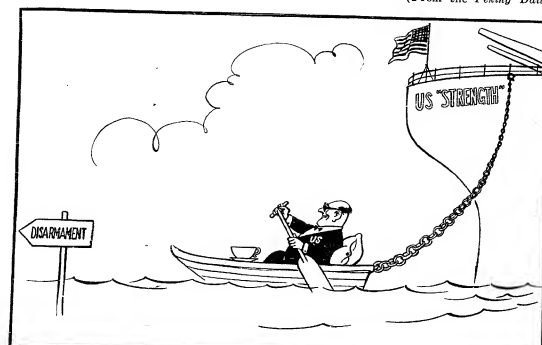
(A dig at people who think there is some virtue in being drably dressed)

By Su Kuang
(From the *People's Daily*)

Below:

Going through the motions

By Shen Tung-heng
(From the *Peking Daily*)



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